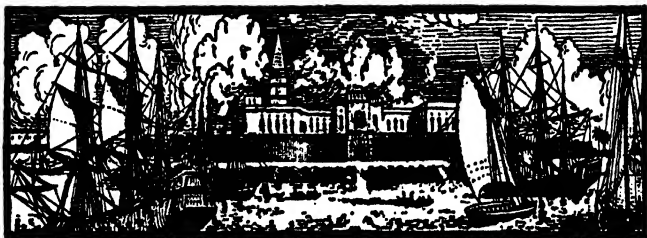
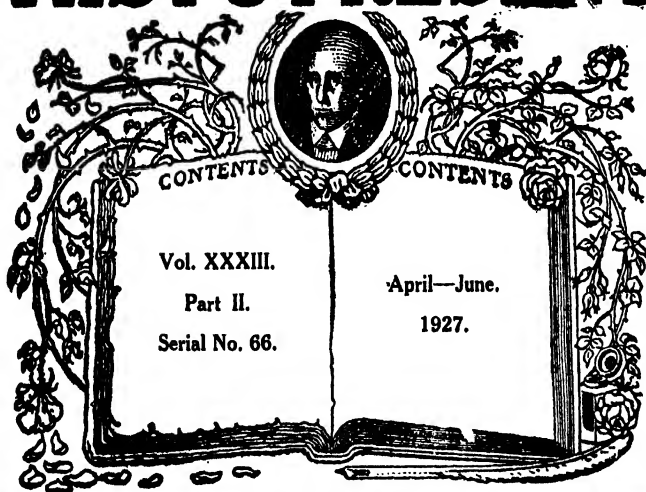


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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



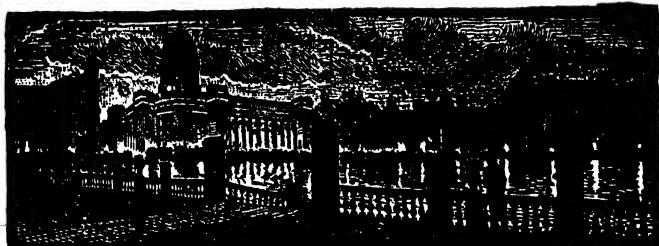
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*These papers were read at the Ninth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lucknow in December, 1926.

*Translation of a Petition from the Zemindars
of the Four and Twenty Pergannas.*

*The gentlemen of the Council
have shown us the kindness of a
Father in restoring our hereditary
Zemindaries to us, and this Act
will remain a lasting Monument
so long as there is stability in the
World of the Benevolence and
good Justice of the Company.*

*We deem ourselves bound on Return
with Heart and Soul to provide for
the Discharge of the Public Revenue,
and accordingly shall not fail to
pay up the Amount of the Settlement
of our lands after being allowed
a Deduction of the Waj'ela
which have been insistently
pressed against the late Sijahud-daulah,
and some other customary considerable
Remissions, to which we are entitled.*

PETITION FROM THE ZEMINDARS OF THE FOUR AND
TWENTY PERGANNAS.

Reproduced by the courtesy of S. N. Ray, Esq., M.A., Deputy Secy., Govt.
of Bengal, Foreign and Political Dept. and photographed by the courtesy of
L. C. Simpson, Esq., M.A., Inspector General of Police, Bengal.

The Zemindars of the Twenty-Four Pargannahs.

Their Re-instatement by Warren Hastings.

IT is fairly well known that the zemindari of the 24 Pargannahs, corresponding approximately to the District of that name, was acquired by the Company in 1757 under the agreement establishing Mir Jafar as Nawab of Bengal. The agreement tacitly passed over a vital aspect of the transaction, namely the claims of the existing zemindars of that area to compensation for the loss of their position. As a matter of fact there is a curious contradiction between the two documents giving effect to this clause in the agreement, the Parwannah addressed to the zemindars, and the Sunnud granted to the Company. (1) While the latter confers unequivocally on the Company the "office of the zemindary of the 24 Pargannahs," the former regards the zemindars as continuing to exist. "Know then ye zemindars, etc., that ye are dependents of the Company, and that ye must submit to such treatment as they give you, whether good or bad; and this is my express injunction." However, that point is purely technical. No one failed to realise that the agreement and consequent orders amounted to the definite and absolute dispossession of the zemindars.

It is not necessary here to go into theoretical questions as to the right to compensation of a zemindar dispossessed through no fault of his own. It is sufficient to say, as I have pointed out in an earlier article, that no concession previously made to the Company contemplated the acquisition of land from a zemindar without payment, and that the adherence of Serajuddoulah to this principle was one of the factors which prevented his coming to any genuine agreement with Clive. No one probably would have questioned in 1757 that when the State, in the person of the *de facto* head of the province, made over to the Company existing zemindari, not through any misconduct of the holders, but for political reasons, the zemindars dispossessed were entitled to compensation based on a fair purchase price of their interest. It has for long been supposed that no kind of compensation or restitution was ever made to them or to their heirs; and this has very reasonably been placed to the discredit of the Company. (2) Archdeacon Firminger, for instance, in his introduction to the "Fifth Report" states that "The dispossessed holders of the 24 Pargannahs seem to have suffered without receiving compensation of any kind," though he quotes correspondence showing

(1) These documents are printed in the Appendix to Verelst's "View" Items XL and XLIV.

(2) Firminger "Fifth Report" Introduction, p. xcvi.

that Warren Hastings interested himself in their claim. This error, for such it proves to be, I reproduced from this source in the article referred to above; and it is due to a clue given by Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham from his researches in the Bengal Record Room that it can now be repudiated, and the credit of Warren Hastings and the Company on this point restored.

The correspondence quoted by Archdeacon Firminger begins with a letter from Warren Hastings written in November 1772, a few months, that is after his arrival in Bengal as Governor General. The rights of the zemindars to compensation had been recognised by the Court three years before, and Hastings' proposals at this point were to follow the precedent of the Mogul Government in dealing with dispossessed zemindars, by making them an allowance proportionate to the annual income from the zemindari. This proportion he says "commonly amounted to a tenth," but he contemplates, apparently, allowing something less. In pressing their claim he urges their state of extreme indigence, and the very material fact that zemindars since dispossessed in other provinces had been treated with similar "indulgence." The early seventies were however lean years for the Company, and for some reason not apparent, the idea of making compensation in this shape was allowed to drop. In Oct: 1776 Hastings is found contemplating the restoration of the zemindars to their rights on the occasion of the next settlement. Relegated to a footnote as it is by Archdeacon Firminger, who had not the sequel before him, the importance of this letter is obscured. What it means is that Hastings now contemplated surrendering the last vestige of the dual position of the Company in revenue matters, as dewan of the province and zemindar of the 24 Pargannahs, and assimilating the administration of the latter area to that of the rest of Bengal. He was cutting one more link, as he was so fond of doing, with the anomalous position left by Lord Clive.

The position, as it presented itself to Warren Hastings, when his enquiries approached completion towards the end of 1776 was this. Approximately three-fifths (3) of the revenue value of the Twenty-Four Pargannahs had been, in 1756, before the zemindari was taken over by the Company, in the possession of zemindars and talukdars not owning zemindaries elsewhere. They were small zemindars, to use the term comprehensively, whose income had been derived exclusively from their interests in the 24 Pargannahs. The remaining two-fifths of the revenue value of these Pargannahs had belonged to four large zemindars the bulk of whose property lay elsewhere, that is the zemindars of Burdwan, Nadia, Hooghly and Saedpore. These latter naturally did not suffer from the loss of the 24 Pargannahs to the same extent as the former class who had no other holdings, though it may be added that the complacency with which these more influential zemindars seem to have accepted their dispossession in 1757 is only another sign of the utter confusion of the times.

(3) The proportions are based on the revenue settled for 1777-1778. It is assumed that the increase in revenue value had been uniform in the two areas.

Up to the year 1775-1776, or at least in the years immediately preceding that date, the collection of revenue in the 24 Pargannahs had been made direct by the Company themselves in their capacity of zemindars. They did this through the agency of "sesawals," an official described by Verelst (4) as "the same as Tahsildar," or in other words employees of the Company collecting for monthly remuneration. The scheme which Hastings had now worked out was economical and ingenious. It was simply to reinstate the previous small zemindars, or their heirs, as zemindars under the Company, which held the dewani jurisdiction. The Company would be relieved of further trouble with the direct collections while the zemindars would regain their previous position, though not, it must be noticed, by any means on payment of the same revenue as that of twenty years ago. This scheme for reinstatement, however, only extended to the three-fifths of the Pargannahs which had been held by the smaller local zemindars. It was not felt necessary to apply it to the interests of the four larger zemindars, who had ample holdings elsewhere. The system of direct collection was to be discontinued throughout these two-fifths of the Pargannahs also, but instead of offering the estates to the former holders, zemindari administration was to be restored by farming them out to persons tendering for them.

Warren Hastings placed his developed proposals before a meeting of his Council, sitting as the Council of Revenue, on the 5th September, 1777. These included both the reinstatement of the smaller local zemindars and the farming out of the rest of the Pargannahs. With this latter aspect I am not further concerned in this article, and it may now drop out of sight.

If I interpret correctly a detached paper which purports to give an account of the "jumma abwab, etc.," of the 24 Pargannahs, the total revenue paid by these local zemindars in the years preceding the transfer to the Company had amounted to Rs. 3,85,004. There is a great deal of interest in this bare account. For instance it appears to show that approximately half the revenue of this area had gone to the credit of the Khalsa, and the other half to the jagir, these being, I take it, respectively the shares of the Mogul Treasury and of the Nawab of Bengal as holder of the jagir. But it would be too great a digression to dwell on more than the above figure for the total revenue. Warren Hastings now put two alternative plans before his Council for the settlement of the area covered by the reinstatement. That which he favoured was based on the actual income from these estates in the preceding three years, and the revenue to be paid under it by the zemindars amounted to Rs. 7,13,867. The alternative settlement, prepared on principle approved by the "Calcutta Committee," *i.e.*, the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, (5) amounted to Rs. 7,63,036. In either case it will be seen that the pargannahs were now worth in revenue value almost twice what they had paid under the Nawab. About one-eighth of the revenue

(4) O. Cit. Glossary.

(5) The Calcutta Committee of Revenue, under the Presidency of John Holme, are a local authority for revenue matters subordinate to the Council of Revenue for the whole province.

now assessed, or to be precise Rs. 91,323 under the first alternative, was payable on account of salt, which had not figured as a separate item at all in the accounts of pre-company days referred to above. Warren Hastings preferred the lighter settlement "not only from the principles of Justice and of that equality with which the Board ought to deal with all persons under the same Circumstances (and we have placed the present candidates in the circumstances of other Zemindars by admitting their rights) but from a conviction that a settlement thus formed would in reality prove more profitable to the Company. These men will have the Dread of losing their newly restored possessions if they fail in their Engagements." That is, Warren Hastings hopes to ensure permanency in the reinstatement by making the settlement light enough for the zemindars to pay their dues without difficulty. We shall see later that he was disappointed, but he carried his Council with him in adopting this alternative.

One very important problem which had been met with in framing these settlement proposals lay in the number of petty zemindars to be reinstated. The exhaustive statement of the "jumma" *i.e.*, the revenue-roll, as previously existing, gives the names both of the zemindars and talukdars at the time of the cession, since deceased, and of those living and the heirs of the deceased. These latter, who were the parties to be reinstated extend to some fifty names, one name often including several relatives. Hastings' scheme to deal with this difficulty was to appoint one joint collector for each Pargannah. "The great number of the proprietors rendering it impossible to collect the rents due from each without some intermediate channel, I propose that one Joint Cabooliet (agreement) be drawn up for each Pargannah, which shall be signed by all the proprietors of that Pargannah, and that a Naib be appointed with the Consent of the Proprietors for each, who shall be immediately responsible for the collective demands of the Pargannah, the proprietors bearing all his charges. To this they have consented." The difficulties in the way of such an arrangement will be obvious to anyone with practical experience of revenue matters in Bengal.

However it was the best that could be done, and Hastings was anxious to push on with the reinstatement as fast as possible. When his proposals were approved by his Council and passed on to the Committee of Revenue the list of individual zemindars and talukdars, with the amount of revenue settled with each, was still incomplete; and, as a matter of fact, the task of working out this adjustment was subsequently devolved on to the Committee of Revenue. Hastings, with the impatience of every administrator who has a scheme to get through in India, writes on the 7th October to hurry matters on. "It is not necessary to wait for a compleat list of all the zemindars and talookdars of the 24 Pargannahs—you must appoint the Naibs, grant them Amilnamas, take their Cabooliyets, and put them into immediate possession. This is a business that need not or ought not to be attended with a moment's delay.—We desire that they (*i.e.*, the zemindars and talookdars) may be put into possession as fast as their respective pretensions can be established."

Notwithstanding Hastings' urgency however it was a slow business. In May 1778 the zemindars were still petitioning to have their "respective zemindaries and Talooks ascertained, and Sunnuds granted us, as soon as possible." But they recognised what Hastings and his Council had done for them, and their words deserved to be emphasised in dispelling the discredit which has so long attached to the Company over this matter. "The Gentlemen of the Council have shown us the Kindness of a Father in restoring our hereditary Zemindaries to us, and this Act will remain a lasting Monument, so long as there is stability in the World, of the Beneficence and good Justice of the Company." A monument, it proved, not "aere perennius," which there is pleasure in endeavouring to restore.

But, by the time that this fulsome eulogy was framed, disillusionment was already in the air. A brief analysis of its causes affords an interesting sidelight on the economic position and revenue affairs at a fateful moment in the history of Bengal. As might have been expected, it proved no easy matter, in the first place, to square accounts with the retiring "sesawals." To take only one instance of the conflicting claims, an item of Rs. 20,000 in their accounts was claimed by them not to have been received as rents but as voluntary payments made by the ryots to the collecting staff. By May 1778 the Committee of Revenue were satisfied that they had adjusted these accounts, and the sesawls found themselves in the usual position of revenue debtors at this time:—"we have ordered them severally to be taken into close custody." Meanwhile the actual interests of the reinstated zemindars had not yet been worked out, and they were still without their sanads, a position which gave them a pretext for letting the balances of unpaid revenue mount up. Moreover, both the zemindars, and the farmers, had various specific claims for remission to put forward; and these being, for the greater part, rejected they refused in their turn to execute *Kabuliyats* (the agreements that are the counterpart of the Sanads.) The reinstatement of the zemindars was to date officially from the year 1777-1778 although the business was actually going on during that year. At its close the balance outstanding for the zemindari portion of the 24 Pargannahs amounted to Rs. 1,30,014 out of the revenue roll of Rs. 7,13,867 fixed in the proposals adopted by Hastings. Pressed for payment of these balances, and short of funds to meet both these arrears and the revenue of the ensuing year, several of the zemindars had mortgaged to the financiers of Calcutta the zemindaries to which they had so recently been restored.

This was the general position when the affairs of the reinstated zemindars came before the Governor General and his Council again in July 1778. The conflict between Hastings and Francis in affairs of state was then at its height; and this question of the policy to be followed in the 24 Pargannahs provides one more of the innumerable instances in which it was Hastings who took the broad, generous, and to use a much abused term, "sympathetic" view, while Francis stood for the reverse. The respective jurisdictions of the Governor in Council as a Revenue authority, and of the recently constituted Supreme Court were still a matter for dispute; and it had become

the practice in mortgaging these zemindaries, and presumably any others, for the mortgage bond to include a clause submitting the zemindar to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. That is the zemindar gave up any claim to protection from Government and exposed himself to complete alienation of his zemindari, just as any other owner whose estate is mortgaged. Hastings apprehends that these mortgages will rapidly result in the loss of the zemindaries to the reinstated holders, and is anxious to ease the financial burden of their revenue payments as far as possible. "Although by the immemorial Custom of this Country no Alienation of a Zemindari is valid without the Consent of Government—yet there is a probability that by this practice the Intentions of Government in favour of the Zemindars may be frustrated, and the whole Property fall into the hands of Strangers without having yielded any benefit to those to whose use it was intended to be restored. For this reason I want to show them peculiar Indulgences." But Francis is still himself, cold, logical, obstructive. "When the Zemindars were restored to the Possession of the Zemindaries" runs the minute of his opinion, "it was understood that they should pay the Revenue thereof upon the same footing on which the Lands in general were settled, and they agreed to do so. The Jumma fixed at the Medium of three Years Collections was, I believe, a moderate Assessment, and such as all the Zemindars are very well able to pay."

At this rather tantalising point in the fortunes of the reinstated zemindars the papers which I owe to the favour of the Bengal Record Room come to an end. But they have sufficed to put Warren Hastings in the right on an issue for which he must have had little enough time and attention to spare

N.B.—In lieu of references for each quotation I append a list of the papers on which the above account is based.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 18, dtd. 5 Sept. 1777. | Governor-General's Minute with Plans of Settlement of 24 Pargannahs. (With three statements). |
| 2. Rev. Dept. O. C. No. 1, dtd. 7 Oct. 1777. | Letter from Calcutta Committee of Revenue to Governor-General and Council of Revenue. |
| 3. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 2, dtd. 7 Oct. 1777. | Letter to Calcutta Committee of Revenue. |
| 4. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 2, dtd. 7th April 1778. | Letter from Calcutta Committee of Revenue. |
| 5. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 3, dtd. 7th April 1778. | Letter to Calcutta Committee of Revenue. |
| 5. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 8, dtd. 1st May 1778. | Translation of Petition from Zemindars of 24 Pargannahs. |
| 7. Rev. Dep. O. C. Appx. No. 10, dtd. 1 May 1778. | List of arrears in Calcutta Division for year ending 27th April 1778. |
| 8. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 21, dtd. 26 May 1778. | Proceedings of Calcutta Committee of Revenue 21st May 1778. |
| 9. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 20, dtd. 26 May 1778. | Letter from Calcutta Committee of Revenue. |
| 10. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 13, dtd. 16 July 1778. | Letter from Calcutta Committee of Revenue. |
| 11. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 14, dtd. 16 July 1778. | Petition from Zemindars of Bahar Nuckshah. |

in these troubled years. Nor let us be too critical about this delay of twenty years in righting an unintended wrong. Seven years, said Burke of Hastings' trial, is an appreciable time in the life of a nation, but twenty years may pass for less in the history of a revenue adjustment in Bengal.

C. W. GURNER.

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12. Rev. Dep. O. C. No. 17, dtd. 16 July 1778. Letter to Calcutta Committee of Revenue.
 13. Rev. Dep. G. G. in C. No. 16, dtd. 16 July 1778. Governor General's Minute on Reinstatement.

Benoit de Boigne.

" GUEREGGIO IN ASIA, E NON VI CAMBIO O MERCO."

NINE miles from the fashionable thermal resort of Aix-les-Bains the enquiring traveller will find the old-world town of Chambéry, once the capital of the dukes of Savoy (ancestors of the present Italian royal family) and since 1860 the headquarters of the French department of Savoie. It stands on the rail-road from Paris to Turin which passes into Italy under the Mont Cenis; but it is not frequented by tourists, unless it be for an hour or two in the course of excursions from Aix-Les-Bains. Yet several days can be spent with profit in exploring its narrow streets with their unexpected archways, and in visiting its fourteenth-century cathedral and its equally ancient château, which was in older times the ducal palace and is now used as the préfecture and as military offices. To students of Indian history, moreover, it offers a feature of enduring interest in the Fontaine des Eléphants, which commemorates its connexion with Benoît de Boigne, the famous soldier of fortune and right hand man of Madhoji Sindhia. For it was at Chambéry that de Boigne—or La Borgne, to give him his father's surname—was born on March 8, 1751, and it was to Chambéry that he retired in 1803 to end his days, after his return from India with a fortune of £400,000. Until his death on June 21, 1830, he showered benefactions upon his native town, building and endowing two hospitals, a lunatic asylum, a trade institute for girls, an almshouse, a college and a public library.

The Fontaine des Eléphants which is the work of Sappey, a Grenoble sculptor, and was erected in 1838, bears lasting testimony to the gratitude of the citizens of Chambéry. It consists of a tall column on a substantial pedestal surmounted by a statue of de Boigne, and takes its name from the four colossal elephants at the base, whose trunks provide a constant supply of water. The situation is admirably chosen. To left and right of the square runs a shady boulevard: behind the monument is a low building backed by the imposing mass of the Dent du Nivolet: and facing it is the Rue de Boigne, which forms a charming vista with its double arcade and the château in the distance.

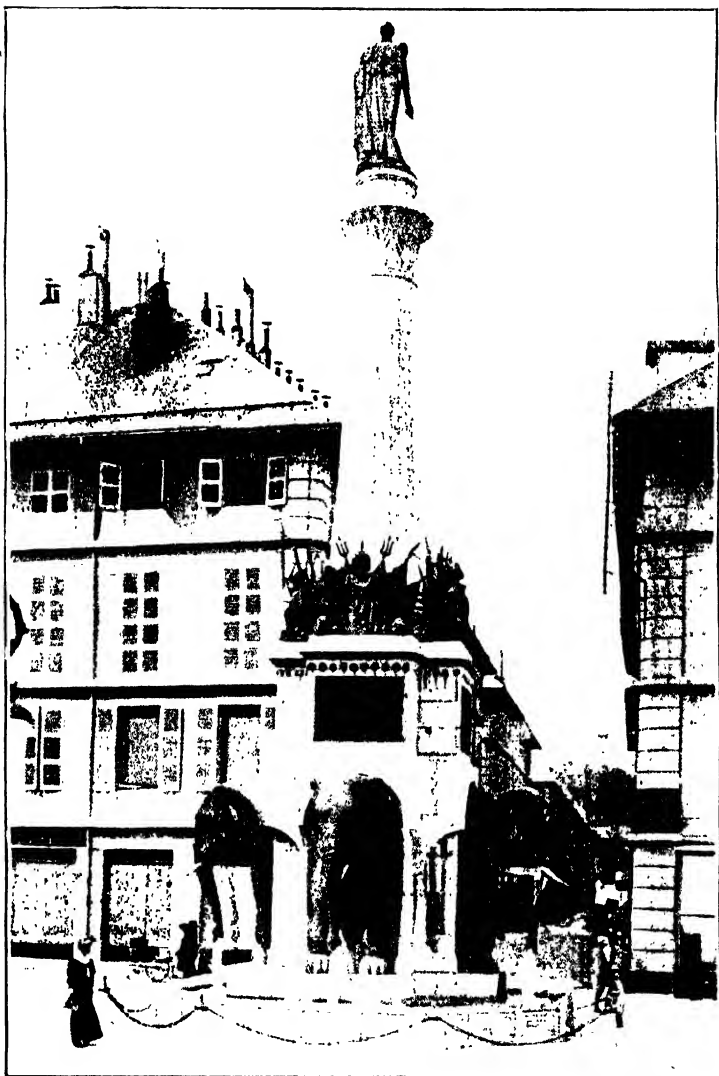
At the foot of the column are trophies of arms and below there are inscriptions in Latin and two *bas-reliefs*. In front, towards the Rue de Boigne, we read:

BENEDICTO DE BOIGNE

CAMBERIENSI

GRATA CIVITAS

M DCCC XXXVIII.



THE FONTAINE DES ÉLÉPHANTS AT CHAMBERY
AND THE RUE DE BOIGNE.



TOMB OF DE BOIGNE IN THE CHURCH OF LEMENC
AT CHAMBERY.

and at the rear the following supplementary words:

QUAM APUD INDOS MAHRATTAS

FAMA NOMINIS ILLUSTRARAT

CIVIS BENEFICUS

PATRIAM INAUDITIS LARGITIONIBUS

VIVUS REPLEVIT (1)

The two bas-reliefs represent scenes in his career. The one on the right hand side shows de Boigne taking farewell of his Mahratta friends. On the left hand side we see him announcing his benefactions to the town councillors of Chambéry.

The tomb of de Boigne will be sought in vain in the Cathedral. He lies buried, at his own request, in the church, of Lemenc which stands upon a hill above the town and occupies, it is said, the site of a Roman temple of Mercury. The church is reputed to owe its origin to Saint Concord, or Cornelius, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland, who was seized with illness and died at this spot in 1176 on his return from Rome. This Irish Saint is invoked by the Savoyards in time of drought: and his festival is celebrated every year on June 4 with much ceremony. The tomb of de Boigne is the first monument on the left upon entering the church which stands at one end of a cloistered courtyard. His sculptured figure reclines on a large stone coffer decorated with the images of three saints in the form of a triptych. The surroundings of the niche in which the monument is placed are a trifle ornate: but nothing could be simpler than the legend: "Hic Jacet Benedictus de Boigne comes et dux exercituum, obit 21 Junii, 1830" (2).

When de Boigne bought his estate on the outskirts of Chambéry in 1803 and built thereon a magnificent mansion which he named Buisson, Savoy was part of France. It had been annexed in 1792 and with the district around Annecy, formed the department of Mont Blanc. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1815, it was restored to its former dukes who were now kings of Sardinia. Chambéry had however ceased to be the capital as long ago as 1562 when Philip-Emanuel transferred it to Turin. In 1860 the province was handed over to Napoleon the Third, as part of the price of his assistance against the Austrians in the Italian War of Liberation. But this was long after the death of de Boigne: and he ended his life, as he began it, as a subject of the king of Sardinia.

The honours which he received in his retirement were both French and Sardinian. He was appointed by Louis the Eighteenth at the Restoration

(1) To Benedict (Benoit) de Boigne of Chambéry, a Grateful Township, 1838. A Beneficent citizen, he filed with unheard-of gifts the place of his birth, which the renown of his name among the Mahrattas in India had covered with glory.

(2) Here lies Benedict (Benoit) de Boigne, count and leader of armies, deceased, June 21, 1830.

of the Bourbons to be a Maréchal de Camp, and a knight of the Legion of Honour and of the order of Saint Louis. In 1815 Victor Emanuel of Sardinia created him a Count, and a Lieutenant-General, and conferred upon him the Grand Cross of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus. He was succeeded in his title by his son who was born at Delhi in 1792 and whose mother a Mahomedan lady, was said to be the daughter of a Persian colonel. The boy and his sister were known originally as Ali Bakhsh and Banu, but were baptized, after their father had brought them with him to Europe, by the names of Charles Alexandre and Anna. The latter died at Paris in 1810, but Charles married the daughter of a French nobleman, and was in 1853 succeeded in his turn by his son who is the present Comte de Boigne. The well-known memoirs of the Comtesse de Boigne were written by the young lady (Mdlle Eleonora Adeled'Osmond) whose father the Marquis d'Osmond was at one time French Ambassador in England, and whom de Boigne married in London (3) within a year of his return from India. There were no children of the marriage.

The Comtesse draws a very unflattering portrait of her husband in her memoirs (Vol. I. p. 115):—

I do not know by what paths he had passed from an Irish legion in the French Service to the back of an elephant, from which he commanded an army of 30,000 sepoys He must have used much skill and cleverness to leave the country with some small portion of the wealth which he possessed, and which none-the-less amounted to ten millions. The rapidity with which he had passed from the lowest rank to the position of commander-in-chief, and from poverty to vast wealth, had never permitted him to acquire any social polish and the habits of the polite society were entirely unknown to him. "An illness from which he was recovering had forced him to make an immoderate use of opium, which had paralysed his moral and physical powers. Years of life in India had added the full force of oriental jealousy to that which would naturally arise in a man of his age: in addition to this, he was endowed with the most disagreeable character that providence ever granted to man. He wished to arouse dislike as others wished to please. He was anxious to make everyone feel the domination of his great wealth, and he thought the only mode of making an impression was to hurt the feelings of other people. He insulted his servants, he offended his guests, and his wife was, *à fortiori*, a victim to this grievous fault of character. He was an honourable man, trustworthy in business, and his ill-breeding had even a certain kind of heartiness: but his disagreeable temperament, displayed with all the ostentation of wealth, the most repellent of all forms of outward show, made association with him so unpleasant

(3) The marriage was celebrated on June 11, 1798, at the French Catholic Chapel in Paddington Street, London.

a business that he was never able to secure the friendship of any individual in any class of society, notwithstanding his numerous benefactions.

The fact which underlies these bitter touches, is that the young girl of sixteen was wholly unsuited to the man of forty-nine whom she married, as she admits, on account of his wealth, in order to "secure her parents' future independence." They separated at the end of ten months, and she died as recently as 1866. In his retirement de Boigne was always pleased to welcome any English officers from India: and among those who visited him at Chambéry were Colonel James Tod and Grant Duff, the historians of the Rajputs and the Mahrattas. Interesting accounts of his career in India have been left by both of them (4) and Thomas Twining who stayed with him at Coel (Aligarh) in December, 1794, persuaded him also to tell the history of his early life (5). The amplest details are, however, to be found in two letters contributed by one Longinus to the Calcutta "Telegraph" in 1797. These are dated from Agra, December 20, 1796, and January 2, 1797, and are reproduced as an appendix to Lewis Ferdinand Smith's "Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the Regular corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princes of India" (first edition, Calcutta, n. d.; 2nd edition, London, 1805). These sources are supplemented by two works in French which are preserved in the Public Library at Chambéry (6): "Memoire Sur la carrière de M. le General Comte de Boigne" (Chambéry, 1829-1830) and M. de St. Genis' book "Une Page Inedite Sur l'histoire de l'Inde" (Poitiers, 1873).

It had been the intention of de Boigne's father, who was a hide merchant at Chambéry, that he should become a lawyer: but the profession of arms attracted him from an early age. The army of Savoy was closed to him, inasmuch as commissions were exclusively reserved for those of noble birth: and he therefore crossed the frontier into France in 1768 and at the age of 17 joined as an ensign the Clare Regiment of the Irish Brigade, a corps famous for its discipline. The next three years were spent in Flanders and the regiment was then ordered to the Isle de France (Mauritius), where it remained for eighteen months. Upon its return to France in 1774, de Boigne resigned his commission and proceeded to the island of Paros in the Greek Archipelago where he obtained a captaincy in a Greek regiment in the service of the Empress Catherine of Russia who was then at war with the Turks. After a few weeks he was taken prisoner in the course of an unsuccessful attack on the island of Tenedos and, according to "Longinus," was sold as a slave at Constantinople for fifty dollars.

At the conclusion of the war he was redeemed by his parents and went to Petersburg where he had the honour to be introduced to the

(4) Tod's *Rajasthan* 1829 edn., Vol. I, p. 765: Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 1921 edn., Vol. II, pp. 160-161 (note).

(5) *Travels in India, a Hundred years Ago*: pp. 271 *seqq.*

(6) See also Herbert Compton's "Military Adventurers in Hindostan," who says that the letters in the *Telegraph* were by Smith himself.

Empress. At Petersburg he was admitted to the acquaintance of Lord Macartney, the then British Ambassador (7) and received as a reward for his slavery the rank of lieutenant. From Petersburg he was detached to some Russian port near the Archipelago and he was so fortunate as to accompany Lord Percy in a tour his Lordship made through the Grecian Islands. This was the embryo of de Boigne's future success and produced those scenes in which he has been so conspicuous and so brilliant an actor . . . De Boigne formed no idea of his intimacy with his Lordship adequate to his success . . . and Lord Percy in giving him a letter of recommendation to Lord Macartney the Governor of Madras and one to Mr. Hastings of Bengal little imagined he should raise the subaltern who commanded his guard to the subduer of kingdoms equal to Britain . . . Shortly after this fortuitous circumstance I believe he went once more to Petersburg and proposed through the Russian minister to the Empress the execution of a voyage to India and a circuit through Cashmeer, Tartary, and the borders of the Caspian to Russia. Catharine who ever relished and encouraged adventurous travellers approved of the scheme, and de Boigne received the commission of a captain to his departure.

At this point "Longinus" breaks off the story abruptly and continues it after the arrival of de Boigne at Madras, which he refers incorrectly to the year 1780. But before we follow him thither, we must note that de Boigne's own version of his adventures in Turkey is slightly different. He told Twining that he made the acquaintance of Lord Percy while a prisoner with the Turks "and seemed to ascribe his release to Lord Percy's influence." Grant Duff supplies another variant based likewise on the authority of de Boigne himself "from notes taken in his presence" at his house at Chambéry. No mention occurs of Lord Percy.

Being employed on an injudicious descent, made upon the island of Tenedos, he was taken prisoner by a sally from the Turkish garrison and conveyed to Scio, where he was kept until the peace which was soon after concluded. On being released, he embarked for Smyrna at which place, happening to meet some Englishmen from India, he was so struck with their account of the country that he resolved on trying his fortune there (8). He proceeded to Constantinople and thence to Aleppo (9) where he joined a caravan for Bagdad; but in consequence of the success of the Persians against the Turks, the caravan, after they had arrived near Bagdad, being under an

(7) Macartney was ambassador to Russia from 1764 to 1767; and filled the office of Governor of Fort Saint George from June 22, 1781 to June 14, 1785.

(8) According to Compton, who does not give his authority, de Boigne and Lord Percy touched at Smyrna in the course of their tour, and there met some European merchants lately returned from the East. "Fascinated by their description of India, de Boigne obtained from Lord Percy a letter of introduction to Warren Hastings."

(9) This was in 1777.

apprehension of falling into the hands of the victors, retraced their steps to Aleppo. De Boigne, balked of his endeavour of getting to India by that route, repaired to Grand Cairo (10) where he became acquainted with Mr. George Baldwin, the British Consul General, and through his influence and kindness not only obtained a passage to India but by a letter to Major Sydenham, town-major of Fort Saint George, was, soon after his arrival at Madras, recommended to Mr. Rumbold, the Governor (11) and appointed an ensign in the 6th Native battalion under that Presidency.

De Boigne reached India by way of the Red Sea in a country ship and arrived at Fort Saint George in January 1778. The regiment to which he was gazetted as ensign formed part of the force under Colonel Baillie which was cut to pieces by Hyder Ali in 1780 at Pollilore (north west of Conjeeveram); but he had been detached to convoy a supply of grain to Madras and so escaped the disaster. Shortly afterwards he resigned his commission in the Company's service. Says "Longinus."

He soon quitted a situation so ill adapted to his mind, not, as some have imagined, by the decision of a court-martial. It is true that a court-martial was held on him for taking some improper liberties with an officer's wife, but he was honourably acquitted. Of this I have been assured by the late Capt. Harvey, who was one of the members of the Court. De Boigne often said that a progressive service held out no enticing prospect nor suited his years or his views.

Grant Duff attributes his resignation to "an act of injustice which he conceived he had experienced from the Governor, Lord Macartney, respecting the adjutancy of a detachment" and adds that "Lord Macartney, when he became sensible of the injustice, would have repaired it." De Boigne had, however, made up his mind to proceed to Calcutta and travel thence overland to Russia. Lord Macartney accordingly gave him a letter of recommendation to Warren Hastings and armed with this and the letter which Lord Percy had already given him, he reached Calcutta in 1782 and "declared the plan of his intended tour to the Governor General, concealing the personage for whom it was undertaken" (12). Hastings received him with kindness and furnished him with letters to Asaf-ud-daula the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and John Bristow, the Resident at Lucknow. Upon his arrival at Lucknow in the early part of 1783 the Nawab presented him with a khillat, which he sold for four thousand rupees, and also with letters of credit on Kabul and Kandahar for Rs. 12,000.

(10) He sailed in the first instance for Alexandria and was wrecked off the mouth of the Nile whence he made his way to Cairo. At that place according to Compton, he fell in once more with Lord Percy.

(11) From February 8, 1778 to April 6, 1780. After his departure John Whitehill and Charles Smith officiated in turn as Governor until the arrival of Lord Macartney on June 22, 1781.

(12) "Longinus," who is the authority for this statement, does not explain who the "personage" was. Apparently it was the Empress Catherine.

After a stay of five months during which time he perfected himself in the vernacular and formed a lifelong friendship with Claude Martin, he set out on his journey in company with Major Brown who had been deputed on a mission to the Emperor at Delhi (13). The progress of the mission was delayed by the jealousy of the Emperor's ministers and de Boigne accepted the invitation of David Anderson, the Resident, to visit the camp of Madhoji Sindhia, who was engaged in the invasion of the territories of the Jat Rana of Gohad. Sindhia caused his baggage to be stolen and himself to be detained under arrest, and although matters were put right on the representations of Anderson, the letters of credit were not returned. De Boigne, being without means, made overtures to the Rana of Gohad, whose fortress of Gwalior was being besieged by Sindhia: but the Rana had already in his pay Rene Madec's battalion of a thousand men under the command of a Scotchman named Sangster (14), and declined his proposal to raise an additional brigade of five regiments. Partab Singh, the Raja of Jaipur received him more favourably: but the project was disapproved by Hastings, who ordered him down to Calcutta, but permitted him after receiving his explanation to return to Lucknow.

Madhoji Sindhia had by now learned the value of disciplined infantry and invited de Boigne, to raise two battalions with the necessary artillery. His task began in 1784: and soon as the regiments were ready to take the field, they were sent to join Appa Khandi Rao in Bundelkhand. The siege and capture of Kalinjar a strong fortress within a few miles to the south of Allahabad, established the reputation of de Boigne: and in January 1785 Madhoji entered Delhi and replaced the Mogul Shah Alam on his puppet throne. Early in 1787 he proceeded with the forces of Appa Khandi Rao and de Boigne, to begin a campaign against the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaipur. The rival armies met at Lalsot, some miles to the south-east of Jaipur. De Boigne's battalion received the charge of the Rathor cavalry in hollow square and broke their ranks. But the Mogul army in the centre refused to stir and deserted *en masse*: and Madhoji was compelled to retire on Alwar. Ghulam Kadir, a Rohilla freebooter, had meanwhile captured Aligarh and was besieging Agra. In the spring of 1788, Sindhia resumed the campaign:

(13) William Hodges, the Royal Academician arrived at Lucknow on January 25, 1783 (Travels, p. 100) and joined the party of Major Brown at Etawah on February 13. After visiting Agra, Sikandra, and Fatehpur Sikri, he left the camp of Major Brown on April 28, "as no probability appeared of reaching Delhi under the sanction of the embassy," and proceeded to Gwalior where Madhoji Sindhia was encamped. He was not permitted to visit the camp and set out on May 12 for Lucknow where he arrived on the 16th. The dates suggest that de Boigne accompanied him to Gwalior.

(14) Hodges (p. 144) relates that he met at Gohad on April 13, 1783, "an Englishman, who was a watchmaker but at this time commanded two battalions of the Rana's infantry: he expressed himself heartily tired of his military career and a wish to return within the British territories to his former occupation as he had made some little property in the Rana's service, which he wished to retreat with, but had no means to convey it, not being suffered to depart: he therefore requested I would take charge of a casket for him to Lucknow, which I readily did, and delivered it to his friend."

and won a complete victory, once more by the help of the Boigne, at Chaksana, about eight miles from Bhurtpore, on April 24. Another battle followed outside Agra on June 18, and Mahratta supremacy was restored. Ghulam Kadir fled to Delhi and blinded the unhappy Emperor: but was speedily compelled to evacuate the capital and was captured near Meerut and cruelly put to death.

De Boigne now proposed to Sindhia that his two battalions should be increased to a brigade of 10,000 men: but the Mahratta refused, and de Boigne left Delhi in 1789 and went to Lucknow where he opened a successful and lucrative business in cloth and indigo, under the advice of his friend Martin. Early in 1790, however, Madhoji who was then in camp at Muttra, invited de Boigne to rejoin him. The offer was accepted, and de Boigne was entrusted with the task of raising a brigade of ten infantry battalions, with a suitable train of cavalry and artillery. All were to be disciplined in the English style and officered by Europeans. Agra was assigned as a depot for army and munitions of war: and de Boigne set to work. His two battalions and a third which had been commanded by a Frenchman named Lestineau, served as a nucleus: and the seven remaining battalions were speedily raised. The rank of general was conferred upon him, and a large and rich tract of country in the Doab was assigned to him as a *Jaidad*, or Jaghir of which the revenue was to be devoted to the upkeep of his corps. When he first took over charge of his province, over which he exercised complete control, its income amounted to sixteen lakhs of rupees, but by careful administration this was increased to thirty lakhs.

Hostilities recommenced in the summer of 1790. The Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur made common cause with Ismail Beg, the Mogul General who had deserted at Lalsot: and on June 20 the armies met at Patan in the Shekhawati country. Ismail Beg and his Pathan cavalry charged three times through de Boigne's ranks and cut down his artillery men at their guns: but to no purpose. There exists an account of the battle which was written by de Boigne himself four days after it was fought, and which was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 22, 1790:—

Our victory is astonishing: A complete victory gained by a handful of men, over such a number in such a position: It may surprise you when I say that in less than three hours' time 12,000 rounds and 1,500 grape shot were fired by us, and by the enemy much more, as they had two guns to our one I have taken 107 pieces of artillery, 6,000 stand of arms, 252 colours, fifteen elephants 200 camels, 513 horses, and above all 3,000 oxen all their camp was burnt or destroyed, they have absolutely saved nothing but their lives.

Madhoji now ordered de Boigne to attack Jodhpur. Raja Bijai Singh resolved to resist him, and with 30,000 Rahtors awaited him at Merta, a large walled city thirty miles to the east of Ajmer. Battle was joined on September 12, 1790, after some preliminary skirmishes. A night attack was made on the Rahtor camp, which was taken by surprise: but the twenty-two

Rajput chiefs who had answered the call of Bijai Singh, nerved themselves for a final effort. Drinking opium together for the last time, they wrapped themselves in robes of yellow silk and at the head of four thousand followers, charged the three battalions of Rohan, a French officer on the right wing of de Boigne's brigade, which had imprudently advanced. They were driven back in disorder, and the Rajputs turned to attack the main body. De Boigne rapidly formed his men into hollow square, and although charge after charge was directed against front, flank and rear, discipline told. Fifteen Rahtors at last remained and they returned for the last time to the charge.

Tod in his *Rajasthan* (1829 edn., Vol. I, p. 766) mentions that de Boigne led his soldiers into action under the white cross of Savoy and quotes the following account of the battle of Merta from the Memoire published at Chambéry in 1829, and "written under the eye of his son, the Comte Charles de Boigne." It was, he says, put into his possession, "by a singular coincidence, just as I am writing this portion of my narrative":—

"Les forces des Rajepoutes se composaient de trente mille cavaliers, de vingt mille hommes d'infanterie régulière et de vingt-cinq pièces de canon. Les Marhattes avaient une cavalerie égale en nombre à celle de l'ennemi, mais leur infanterie se bornait aux bataillons de M. de Boigne soutenus, il est vrai, par vingt quatre pièces d'artillerie. Le général examina la position de l'ennemi, il étudia le terrain et arrêta son plan de bataille.

Le dix (15) avant le jour, la brigade reçut l'ordre de marcher en avant, et elle surprit les Rajepoutes pendant qu'ils faisaient leurs ablutions de matin. Les premiers bataillons avec cinquante pièces de canon tirant à mitraille enfoncèrent les lignes de l'ennemi et enlevèrent ses positions. Rohan qui commandait l'aile droite, à la vue de ce premier avantage, sans avoir reçu aucun ordre, eut l'imprudence de s'avancer hors de la ligne au combat à la tête de trois bataillons. La cavalerie Rahtore profitant de cette faute, fondit à l'instant sur lui et faillit couper sa retraite sur le gros de l'armée qu'il ne parvint à rejoindre qu'avec les plus grandes difficultés. Toute la cavalerie ennemie se mit alors en mouvement et se jetant avec impétuosité sur la brigade, l'attaqua sur tous les côtés à la fois. Elle eût été infailliblement exterminée sans la présence d'esprit de son chef. M. deBoigne, s'étant aperçu de l'erreur commise par son aile droit et prévoyant les suites qu'elle pouvait entraîner, avait disposé sur le champ son infanterie en carré vide: et par cette disposition, présentant partout un front à l'ennemi elle opposa une résistance invincible aux charges furieuses des Rahtores qui furent enfin forcés de lâcher prise. Aussitôt l'infanterie reprit ses positions et s'avancant avec son artillerie elle fit une attaque générale sur toute la ligne des Rajepoutes. Déjà sur les neuf heures l'ennemi était complètement battu. Une heure après les Marhattes prirent possession de son camp avec tous ses canons et bagages: et pour couronner cette

(15) *Sic.* The actual date was September 12.

journée, à trois heures après midi, la ville de Mirtan fut prise d'assaut.

When Tod "passed two delightful days" with the conqueror of Merta "in his native vale of Chambéry" about the year 1826, he endeavoured to persuade the veteran to talk of his great achievement. "The remembrance of past days flitted before him; as he said 'all appeared in a dream.'"

The immediate result of Patan and Merta was the formation of a second brigade in 1791 and a third in 1793. Madhoji feeling, with de Boigne at Koil near Aligarh, that his hold upon Hindustan was secure, proceeded to Poona in the summer of 1793. His departure gave the signal to Tukoji Rao Holkar, his partner in the province of Malwa, who had been watching the growth of de Boigne's battalions with undisguised jealousy. Gopal Rao Bhao Madhoji's lieutenant in Hindustan, was compelled to take the field: and a battle ensued in the pass of Lakhairi in September 1793. Once more de Boigne turned a doubtful issue into a complete victory: and Holkar's four disciplined battalions, which were commanded by Dudrenec, were practically annihilated. Madhoji Sindhia was now the sole master of the Mahratta acquisitions in Hindustan: but early in 1794 he was attacked by violent fever at Wanowlie, near Poona, and died on February 12, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

De Boigne remained faithful to his nephew and successor, Daulat Rao, but his health was beginning to fail. The battle of Kardla on March 11, 1795, in which the Peshwa's forces defeated Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad was the last in which his brigades engaged during the period of his command. He was not himself present, and the men were led by Perron. Eighteen years of continued residence in India had shattered his constitution, and he applied for permission to depart. Daulat Rao at first refused his consent but ultimately agreed. De Boigne's parting admonition to him was to avoid all quarrel with the English and to disband his battalions rather than to risk a war with them.

On Christmas day, 1795, de Boigne left Koil under escort of his bodyguard (16) and made his way to Lucknow. Here he arranged his affairs and placed them in charge of Claude Martin. Proceeding thence to Calcutta, he was honourably received by the Governor General who took over the troopers of his bodyguard with their horses and equipment. In September 1796, he sailed in the ship *Cromberg* and reached England early in the year 1797. For some time he lived near London and it was then (as already mentioned) that he married his young wife.

The story has been told, upon the authority mainly of a statement made by Lord Wellesley in a letter of (17) of July 8, 1803, to Lord Lake, that de Boigne removed to Paris in 1802 and became "the chief confidant of

(16) "He was attended by 610 cavalry, 4 elephants, 150 camels and many bullock-wagons laden with his effects. His cavalry cut a good appearance, being dressed in a uniform of green jackets with red turbans, the folds of which were intermixed with silver wire."

(17) "M de Boigne (Sindhia's late General) is now the chief confidant of Bonaparte. He is constantly at St. Cloud. I leave you to judge why and whereof."

Bonaparte " in his designs against the English power in India. No corroboration of this statement can be found in the records: and the grandson of de Boigne has declared explicitly that he was in Savoy, and not in Paris, in 1802, and that during the whole of the First Empire he led an absolutely secluded life. There appears to be no doubt that he distrusted the solidity of Napoleon's power and held aloof deliberately from his Court.

The command of de Boigne's " Invincible Army " devolved upon Pierre Cuiller, or Perron, a French adventurer who was born in 1755 at Chateau du Loire in the department of the Sarthe, and had found his way to India on board the fleet of the Bailli de Suffren. The force consisted of 24,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and 120 guns, besides garrison troops and irregulars. For a time Perron was supreme. His capture of the fort and citadel of Agra in the spring of 1799 earned him the complete confidence of Daulat Rao Sindhia who invested him with the full and uncontrolled government of all his possessions from the Chambal to Patiala. He was authorized to raise armies and retain or discharge troops, and not even de Boigne, we are told, enjoyed such a measure of absolute power. But Daulat Rao lacked the genius of his uncle Madhoji and Perron (in the words of de Boigne), although a brave soldier possessed no talent. The war with the British, against which de Boigne had warned his master, broke out in August 1803. Perron exhorted Daulat Rao to fight to the last, but did not draw his sword from its scabbard. In ten days from Lake's arrival before Aligarh his power was dissolved and he himself was a fugitive in the British camp.

The campaign continued under Louis Bourquien a worthless fellow who had once been a cook: but the end came swiftly. The battle of Laswari on November 1, 1803, completed the destruction of Perron's battalions—of the thirty-one in Hindustan proper twelve were defeated at Delhi, on September 11, seven at Agra on October 10, and the remaining twelve at Laswari. The eight battalions which were on service in the Deccan were destroyed by Wellesley at Assaye: and at the end of twelve weeks after the declaration of the war the " Invincible Army " had ceased to exist. Perron spent some time at Chinsurah in the house now occupied by the Hooghly College, and embarked for Hamburg in 1805. He proceeded to Paris but was coldly received by Napoleon, and withdrew to the chateau which he purchased at Fresnes near Montoire in the department of Loire et Cher, where he died in 1834, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Unlike de Boigne, whose memory is held in high honour in his native town, he rests forgotten in an unmarked grave. It was typical of him that he used to boast that he had compelled de Boigne to leave Sindhia's service: and typical of de Boigne that he disdained to reply to the allegation.

Had the genius which formed the battalions of de Boigne remained with them they would never have been destroyed (says L. F. Smith, who had been a major in the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia and was writing of what he knew). ' De Boigne's policy was too sagacious to have attracted the attention or raised the jealousy of the British Government. He gave no preference in

his conduct of European officers to one nation or another (18). Perron from the moment he got firmly seated in de Boigne's seat shewed a marked and unjust partiality to the French, and only kept the English officers to conceal his views and plans from the British Government . . . His army was a minute miniature of the French revolution: wretches were raised from cooks, bakers and barbers to majors and colonels, absurdly entrusted with the command of brigades and showed into paths to acquire lacks."

De Boigne's first and second brigades were raised in 1790 and the third in 1793. In 1801 Perron formed the fourth and in 1803 the fifth. Each brigade when completed consisted of six thousand men, and cost, in Hindustan proper, Rs. 56,000 a month. When serving in the Deccan the monthly charge amounted to Rs. 84,000, as all Sindhia's troops on crossing the Nerbudda (and latterly the Chambal) received additional pay at the rate of eight annas on every rupee. To each brigade were attached three battering rams, ten howitzers, two mortars and thirty-six field pieces. There were also 200 regular horsemen and 500 Rohilla irregulars. The battalions, according to the old French custom, bore the names of cities and forts, such as Delhi, Agra and Burhanpur. The disciplined sepoy (19) were composed mainly of Hindus from Oudh and were drilled according to the English exercise of 1780. The *nujeebs*, or matchlockmen, were drilled in nearly the same way, but, says Lewis Ferdinand Smith, their words of command were delivered in Irish!!

Twining who visited de Boigne at Coel in December 1794, was struck by his tall upright figure and his martial deportment. "A polite gracious relaxation of a certain air of military austerity" was apparent which was "not less prepossessing than ease more habitual." He described to his guest the obstacles he had encountered—"the prejudices to overcome, the innate distrust of an Indian prince to remove, the dangerous jealousy of rivals to counteract"—and now he had surmounted them all.

The result was that young de Boigne—for he was only about thirty-five years of age—aided by the resources of a mind singularly formed for such a situation, active, enterprising, penetrating, judicious, gradually made his way through all the difficulties that surrounded him: and converted the first alarm of the Hindoo prince into confidence, his oppression into acts of favour and kindness, his hostility into unbounded friendship; till at length from being a prisoner in his hands, he rose to be the defender of his country and the victorious leader of his armies (20).

(18) De Boigne's second-in-command was Fremont, a Frenchman. Of the other officers we know of Hessing, a Dutchman, Perron, Baours, Pedron, and Rohan, who were Frenchmen, and Robert Sutherland and Roberts, who were British subjects. Sangster, who had been in the service of the Rana of Gohad was superintendent of his cannon foundry.

(19) These were known as Telinganas from the fact that the Sepoys who accompanied Clive to Bengal were recruited in the Telugu country.

(20) De Boigne gave Twining a letter of introduction to Thomas Longcroft, who was carrying on the business of an indigo planter at Jellowlee. Longcroft came out to India with Zoffany about 1783 and was one of the party (including Zoffany) who joined the tiger hunt near

"Longinus," writing in 1797, discusses the character of de Boigne in considerable detail; and his account of the strenuous life led by him at the height of his career is particularly interesting:

De Boigne is favoured by Nature and education to guide and command: his school acquirements are much above mediocrity. He is a tolerable Latin scholar and reads, writes, and speaks French, Italian and English with fluency. He is not deficient in a general acquaintance with books and possesses great knowledge of the world: he is extremely polite, affable, pleasant, humorous and vivacious: elegant in his manners, resolute in his determinations and firm in his measures; remarkably well versed in the mechanism of the human mind and has perfect command over himself: to the political subtilty of the Italian school he has added consummate Oriental intrigue: made his approaches to power in disguise and only shewed himself when too strong to be resisted. On the grand stage where he had acted a brilliant and important part for these ten years, he is dreaded and idolised, feared and admired, respected and beloved. Latterly the very name of de Boigne conveyed more terrors than the thunders of his cannon . . . His justice was uncommon and singularly well proportioned between severity and relaxation; he possessed the happy art of gaining the confidence of surrounding princes and governed subjects: active and persevering to a degree which can only be conceived or believed by those who were spectators of his indefatigable labours. I have seen him daily and monthly rise with the sun, survey his karkhana (arsenal), view his troops, enlist recruits, direct the vast movements of three brigades, raise resources and encourage manufacturers for their arms, ammunition and stores: harangue in his durbar, give audience to ambassadors, administer justice, regulate the civil and revenue affairs of a jaydad of twenty lacks of rupees, listen to a multitude of letters from various parts on various important matters: dictate replies, carry on intricate system of intrigue in different courts, superintend a private trade of lacks of rupees, keep his accounts, his private and public correspondence and direct and move forward a most complex political machine. All this he did without any European assistance for he is very diffident in placing his confidence and extremely cautious in bestowing his trust. He used to say that any ambitious person who reposes confidence in another risks the destruction of his views. Such was his laborious occupation from sunrise till past midnight: and this was not the

Chinsurah in 1784 which was described by Sir John Day (Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 491) and which forms the subject of a picture by Zoffany. There is a coloured copy of the engraving by Earlom in the Victoria Memorial Hall, together with the key plate. It was presented by Her Majesty, Queen Mary. Longcroft was also an artist; and specimens of his sketches may be seen at the British Museum, the India Office, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

fortuitous avocation of a day but the unremitting employment of nine or ten years. To this exhausting and unceasing toil he sacrificed one of the finest and most robust constitution which ever Nature formed to bless mankind. He left his station with accumulated diseases, an extinguished health, and a debilitated frame but with the poor comparative recompense of uncommon fame and a splendid fortune of 400,000£!

Of his personal appearance "Longinus" gives the following description:

In his person de Boigne is above six feet high, giant boned, large limbs, strong featured and piercing eyes. There is something in his countenance which depicts the hero and compels us to yield obedience. In his deportment he was commanding, and he trod like Ajax with the majestic step of conscious greatness . . . He raised the rising power of Mhadojee Scindea to a height which Scindea could never expect or seriously hope: he fixed and consolidated that power and established it on the firm basis of a powerful well disciplined and well paid army. He was religiously faithful to his master and amidst the most enticing offers to betray he preserved his allegiance unsullied, and his merit in resisting the charms of gold was greater as his avarice was superior . . . There is another singular fact which ought to recommend de Boigne to the claims of the British Government. When he first entered into Mhadojee Scindea's service one of the principal articles of agreement he contracted in writing was "Never to bear arms against the English" (21).

Tod paints a pleasant picture of the old man in his retirement at Chambéry. "Distinguished by his prince, beloved by a numerous and amiable family and honoured by his fellow citizens, the years of the veteran, now numbering more than fourscore, glide in agreeable tranquillity in his native city, which with oriental magnificence he is beautifying by an entire new street and a handsome dwelling for himself" (22). And so resting after his toil, we may leave him.

EVAN COTTON.

(21) He told Twining however that, while he wished to remain on good terms with the East India Company, he was quite prepared to meet them in the field should such a necessity arise!

(22) Major William Henry Tone, brother of the famous United Irishman, and Commandant of a regiment of Infantry in the Peishwa's service, in his *Illustrations of some Institutions of the Mahratta People* (originally published in 1799 in the form of a Letter to a Madras Officer) speaks of de Boigne "as a man of first-rate talents as an officer, and consummate knowledge as a politician: indefatigable in his pursuits whether of war or negotiation, whose splendid abilities, displayed upon a noble theatre increased the dominions of Scindeah to double their original extent, and created for himself a princely fortune, by a series of successful and honourable labours." He gives a detailed account of his army, particularly the *nujeebs* or *nozibs*, matchlock-men armed with the country musket which they load with great readiness, and to which the ingenuity of de Boigne has added a bayonet.

The Hastings-Imhoff Romance :

A NEW READING.

THE memory of Warren Hastings has gradually been cleared of most of the many slurs cast upon it by the malignancy of personal opponents or the prejudices of certain historians; with the result that, in the words of Lord Curzon (*British Government in India*, Vol. II, p. 147), he 'now stands forth, not indeed as a perfect or saintly figure—for he did some things which are open to censure and even to grave reproach—but as a man greatly suffering and sorely ill-used, but boldly daring, supremely competent, and greatly achieving.' There is, however, one incident in his career—the events leading up to his second marriage—in regard to which most of his apologists have allowed judgment to go by default, although the story, as usually told, places his conduct in a far from favourable light. In the following pages I propose to examine this story afresh, and to call attention to certain facts which seem as yet to have been either ignored or undervalued.

The version which has hitherto passed unchallenged is so familiar that but a brief recapitulation is necessary. When voyaging to Madras in 1769, to take up the post of Member of Council, Hastings found on board his ship a German couple, the Baron and Baroness von Imhoff, bound for the same destination, where the former, though appointed a cadet in the Company's army, was hoping to make money as a portrait painter: the ensuing friendship passed, on the part of Hastings, into an infatuation for the lady, who was young, good-looking, and sprightly: by agreement with her husband, a suit for divorce was promptly instituted, and was going on all the time the trio were at Madras: and when this was obtained, or about to be obtained, the Baron returned to his native country and purchased an estate with the money (said to have exceeded £10,000) paid to him by Hastings as the reward of his complaisance: whereupon the lady, thus set free, proceeded to marry her devoted admirer, who was by this time Governor of Fort William, Calcutta.

As a preliminary, it may be well to inquire on what evidence this story rests. It makes a brief appearance in a translation of the *Seir-Mutaqhurin* published at Calcutta four years after the departure of Hastings and actually dedicated to him. The translator—a French renegade named Raymond—gives in a note a short account of the career of Mrs. Hastings, beginning with the absurd statement that she was born at Archangel (a detail that stuck in Macaulay's marvellous memory, though he could not recall where he had seen it), and ending with the allegation that Imhoff bought an estate in Saxony with the money paid him by Hastings. In all this Raymond could have had nothing to go upon but the current gossip of Calcutta; and without some corroboration we might justifiably dismiss his story as of little

value. That corroboration, however, might seem to be supplied by the next narrator, Sir Nathaniel Wraxall. The fact that he was himself in India from 1769 to 1772 (the period when Hastings and the Imhoffs were at Madras together) at first appears to lend some weight to his version; but, on looking into the matter more closely, we find that Wraxall was all the time in Bombay or Gujarat and, being young and friendless, was not at all likely to have received first-hand information from the other side of India on such a subject. We can scarcely doubt that the story came to him from some of the 'Bengal squad' of returned Anglo-Indians with whom he consorted years later in London; and therefore as little reliance need be placed on his statement that Hastings paid Imhoff 'a sum considerably exceeding £10,000' as upon his innuendoes about improper relations between the Governor-General and the lady—an insinuation which nobody now accepts. Like Raymond, Wraxall was friendly disposed towards both Hastings and his wife; but, as a cynical man of the world, he accepted lightly enough the supposition that neither was superior, under temptation, to the loose morality of the day. In some respects his account is demonstrably wrong. He says that Imhoff went home with 'the produce of his wife's attractions,' while Mrs. Imhoff 'followed her lover to Calcutta.' As a matter of fact Hastings was the last of the trio to proceed to that place, and Imhoff went home from Bengal, not from Madras.

Wraxall's version was published in 1836. A year earlier the Rev. G. R. Gleig had been commissioned by the Hastings family to write the biography of the deceased Governor-General—a task which occupied him for six years. We turn with interest to the account given by him of the incidents in question, for it is this account (especially in Macaulay's version of it) that naturally carried weight with most readers. The reverend gentleman evidently found a difficulty in reconciling the facts, so far as he knew them, with the exalted opinion he wished to maintain regarding his hero. Moreover, as an English ecclesiastic, he could not regard the divorce as justifiable, nor the subsequent marriage as really valid, in spite of the fact that it had been solemnized by an Anglican clergyman. Apparently the only solution he could find was to regard Hastings and the lady as gifted creatures pre-ordained to come together and the Baron as an unfortunate obstacle, to be removed somehow. He stressed an alleged incompatibility between the tastes and dispositions of Imhoff and his wife, though admitting that the former, 'in his own rude way, was kind to her.' While repudiating the scandalous insinuations already mentioned, Gleig repeated Wraxall's blunder of making Hastings precede the Imhoffs to Bengal; and he also adopted the story that the Baron returned to Europe enriched by the spoils of the divorce transaction.

All this seems to have been accepted by subsequent writers as authoritative, in view of the fact that Gleig was compiling his memoir on behalf of the family and with the aid of materials supplied by them. But it is important to remember that Hastings himself had died long before: that his widow was very old, and in any case could hardly be questioned about

so delicate a matter: and that the other relatives were not likely to know much about it, if only because of the secrecy maintained at the time of the divorce negotiations and of the determined reticence (recorded by Gleig), of Hastings about his early life. As regards the papers handed over to the reverend gentleman, we have his word for it that they often failed him at critical points; and it is difficult to believe that they included any reliable information on this very private matter. While, therefore, giving Gleig full credit for a desire to be accurate, we may well doubt whether his version is entirely trustworthy. Since he gives some fresh details, he evidently did not depend entirely on Wraxall; but some member of the family may have been in a position to supply those details without knowing the full story.

Two points that seem especially open to question are, first, the date at which the divorce suit was arranged, and secondly, the allegation that Hastings paid money to Imhoff as the price of his consent; and if it be conceded that the received version may be wrong in these particulars, a new interpretation is possible which places in a more favourable light the conduct of all the parties. As regards the first point, certainty might be attained if the record of the legal proceedings in Germany could be discovered; but all the efforts made to that end by the lady who writes under the name of 'Sydney C. Grier', and whose interest in the subject is well known, have been unsuccessful. If what Gleig implies is correct, instructions to begin the proceedings must have been sent to Europe late in 1769 or early in 1770; but that these proceedings, in an undefended suit, should be spun out for five years or more, when those concerned were anxious for a speedy settlement, seems in itself improbable. There is, moreover, one piece of evidence which points to a later date for the divorce negotiations. We have it on the authority of Dr. Busteed (*Echoes from Old Calcutta*, p. 409) that local Calcutta gossip alleged that Richard Johnson (of Lucknow fame) was "the negotiator on the Hastings side;" and he supports that statement by quotations (p. 349) from the diary of Philip Francis and from Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*. But we know that Johnson was never at Madras; that he did not reach Bengal until the middle of 1770; and that Hastings' acquaintance with him could not have begun until the Governor's arrival in 1772. Admittedly, this evidence is not strong; yet, so far as it goes, it seems to point to 1772 as the probable date of the negotiations. And in the same connexion we have to take into account a fact which, though not entirely new, has not been fully appreciated in its bearing upon the subject. This is the discovery that (as will be seen later) Imhoff did not leave Bengal on his own initiative but in consequence of peremptory orders from the East India Company.

Now for our second point. Imhoff was a military officer of good birth and, so far as we know, of unblemished character. As Dr. Busteed has reminded us (p. 404) his record in later life is entirely credible; and to accuse him of selling his wife is to make an antecedently improbable charge, which ought to be supported by definite evidence. That he bought an estate after his return is true; but whether that necessitated a large expenditure does not appear. A German work cited by Dr. Busteed refers to

Imhoff's 'limited circumstances' on his return, and states that with the remains of his fortune he bought the paternal estate from his brothers. In such circumstances it is quite usual for the purchaser to be allowed easy terms of payment; and so part of the money may have been provided from the revenue of later years (1). Of course, when the news reached Calcutta that the Baron had purchased an estate, the general conclusion would be that he had procured the means from Hastings; and thus the accusation would be started on its round.

After these preliminary considerations, I may perhaps be permitted to lay before the reader a tentative theory of what really occurred. For this purpose it is unnecessary to begin earlier than the arrival at Madras of Hastings and the Imhoff pair. We may also accept as a fact Hastings' strong attachment to the fascinating lady. Her feelings we have no means of judging; but we may well believe that she received his attentions with pleasure and was not insensible to the difference between his attitude and that of her husband, who seems to have been as matter of fact and proprietary as the usual eighteenth century consort. Yet there are no grounds for making any imputations upon her conduct; while Hastings' principles forbade anything like a vulgar intrigue, especially with the wife of a friend. All that he could do was to wait upon events. It was a melancholy prospect; for if he ever allowed his thoughts to play with the possibility of the lady being set free by the death of her husband (as was constantly happening in India), he must have reflected that of the two he himself was the more likely to succumb to the climate. However, all his previous life had been a training in patience, and patience was here his only remedy.

It is probable that at Madras the Imhoffs became the guests of Hastings (though not in his own house); nor would this appear strange, for Anglo-Indian hospitality was lavish in the extreme, and the fact that the painter and his wife had been fellow passengers with the new Member of Council would be an adequate explanation of his kindness. According to Wraxall, Hastings 'continued to visit her [Mrs. Imhoff] with great assiduity while she and her husband resided at Madras, but always with such precautions and under such restrictions as not to compromise her honour.' Doubtless he exerted himself to procure customers for Imhoff (who, by the way, dropped his title during his residence in India), and a fair number of sitters was secured. The money thus earned was very welcome; for the salary of a cadet was only a rupee a day, though presumably there were allowances for lodging and diet. However, the market for portraits was limited; and by the middle of 1770 Imhoff had decided to try whether Bengal would afford better opportunities. On the Madras Military Consultations of 10 September we find the following entry: 'Received a letter from Mr. Imhoff, dated 4th inst., representing that he arrived here as a cadet last season, but finding his salary insufficient to support himself and family, he had, with the approbation of the late Governor [Charles Bouchier] and General

(1) Dr. Busted suggests that Imhoff took home a considerable sum of money, earned by his portrait-painting. This seems to me unlikely.

Smith, practised a liberal art for a livelihood: requesting permission to resign the service and to proceed to Bengal.' To this application a favourable answer was returned, with the result that the painter went off to Calcutta towards the end of the year. Possibly it was the low state of his funds that precluded his taking his wife with him. In any case she remained at Madras, and for part at least of the time was the guest of Hastings—a proof surely of Imhoff's trust in the innocence of their relations.

In this connexion two letters quoted by Professor Dodwell, in his recent work on *The Nabobs of Madras*, merit notice. The first was addressed on 4 July, 1770 by Hastings to his friend Hancock at Calcutta, and referred to an earlier letter in which he had asked him to inquire for a lodging for Imhoff, 'a shipmate of mine, an officer of some rank in the German service,' who had had 'some success here, having taken off the heads of half the settlement,' but was proposing 'to try his fortune as a miniature painter in Bengal.' The second is a note from Hastings to Imhoff himself at Calcutta (6 July, 1771), acknowledging the receipt of a portrait of Mrs. Imhoff, which, in the writer's opinion, 'is the best painting you have executed, at least of any I have seen.' Hastings alludes to a previous letter, with which he had sent some artists' materials as a present. Evidently their relations were still on the friendliest footing.

Imhoff was only just in time in securing his release from military service. The attention of the Directors had been called to the frequency with which such appointments had been sought merely to secure a passage to India; and orders arrived from England that any persons sent out as cadets who should refuse to accept commissions were to be sent home immediately. In reply (6 February, 1771) the Madras Government reported the action already taken regarding Imhoff and two others who had applied for permission 'to decline accepting commissions and to remain in India until your pleasure could be known.' To this the Directors replied severely (25 March, 1772): 'The reasons assigned by Messrs. Scott, Imhoff, and Dupuy for declining to accept commissions sufficiently prove that they have been guilty of an artful and deliberate design to impose upon the Company. If they still refuse to serve in the military, they should be sent home by the first ship; and if Imhoff was gone to Bengal, this order is to be transmitted to that government for compliance.'

In the meantime the painter appears to have prospered sufficiently at Calcutta to warrant him in sending for his wife; and she joined him accordingly in October, 1771. Fate seemed determined to throw Hastings and the Imhoffs together; for at the end of the year he was notified that the Company had appointed him Governor of Fort William, and he in turn arrived in Calcutta in February, 1772. A letter from Hancock to his wife, cited by Dr. Busteed (p. 137), after announcing the arrival of Hastings, goes on to speak of the Imhoffs. Hancock mentions the removal of the husband to Calcutta, while, as for the wife, whom he characterizes as the Governor's 'principal favourite among the ladies' of the settlement, he says: 'She remained at Madras, and lived in Mr. Hastings' house on the

Mount chiefly, I believe. She is about twenty-six years old, has a good person and has been very pretty, is sensible, lively, and wants only to be a greater mistress of the English language to prove she has a great share of wit. She came to Calcutta last October. They do not make a part of Mr. Hastings' family, but are often of his private parties. The husband is truly a German. I should not have mentioned Mrs. Imhoff to you, but I know everything relating to Mr. Hastings is greatly interesting to you.' It is clear from this that Calcutta gossip had as yet raised no scandal on the subject, nor had the closest friends of the new Governor any idea that his feelings towards the lady went beyond those of a warm friendship.

But in the autumn came a crisis. The peremptory orders of the Directors for Imhoff's deportation had been duly passed on from Madras to Bengal; and on 6 October, 1772, he was formally notified that he must prepare to leave for England. Unwelcome as this development was to him (assuming, as it is permissible to assume, that he had no intention of leaving Bengal), it must have been still more unpleasant to his wife. Probably she too had hitherto allowed herself to drift, and had scarcely realised the extent to which the silent devotion of Hastings had gained upon her feelings. The shock startled her into a clear perception of the position; and her repugnance to the idea of quitting her comfortable life in Calcutta, and resuming the old life of wandering and penury with a man for whom she had ceased to care, could not be hidden from her husband. He too found himself in a position of great difficulty. He might prevail upon her to accompany him, by pointing out the impossible situation in which she would be placed were it known that she had refused to do so; but was it the part of a man of honour to force her inclinations in that way? And if he succeeded, what prospect was there of happiness for either in the future? In this dilemma it was natural that the possibility should occur to one or other of them of availing themselves of the remedy provided by the liberal laws of their native country in cases where married persons found a continuance of their union intolerable. Once broached, there would be no hesitation on their parts in adopting this solution; while Hastings (who is not likely to have known that in Germany a divorce could be obtained on such grounds) would of course be overjoyed at this sudden break in the dark clouds that overwhelmed him at the prospect of losing for ever the woman on whom all his hopes were fixed. Since the couple had of their own accord decided to part—were even desirous of doing so—it was not for him to raise objections. It was accordingly arranged that an action should be started as soon as possible in the German courts, (2) which Imhoff was to facilitate and thus gain his own freedom. The negotiations, conducted on the part of Hastings by his friend Johnson, were necessarily involved in secrecy, and we can only conjecture their course. With his usual disregard for money, the Governor behaved with great liberality. He was willing, not only to marry the lady as soon as she should

(2) According to the *Farington Diary* the pretext put forward was personal ill-usage of the Baroness by her husband; but the reason commonly alleged (incompatibility) is not only more probable but is distinctly asserted by Madame D'Arblay (*Diaries*, vol. ii, p. 442).

be free, but to relieve her impecunious husband of the burden of maintaining her in the meantime; he undertook to adopt and provide for her two boys (one of whom the couple had brought out with them, while the other had been left in England); and it is not improbable that in addition he furnished Imhoff with ample funds for the expenses of the legal proceedings. That he went beyond this and actually gave him monetary compensation for the loss of his wife seems to me highly improbable.

Evidently matters had been settled by 1 December, 1772, when Imhoff applied for a passage to England for his son in the *Greenwich*; for, as he himself was so soon to depart, the decision to send the boy in a separate vessel must have been due to the fact that his custody had now been virtually transferred to Hastings, who, however, did not wish to appear openly as his guardian. The vessel sailed on 16 December, and reached the Downs on 21 June, 1773. In due course the lad and his brother were sent, first to an establishment at Chiswick and then to their stepfather's old school, Westminster.

The boy having been despatched home, Imhoff on 6 January, 1773, replied at last to the official letter requiring his own departure. He said that remonstrance was evidently useless and would perhaps draw upon him severer marks of the Company's displeasure; he solicited, therefore, a passage to England. This the Council promised to grant, on any vessel he might name; and on 21 February, he requested accommodation on the *Rockingham* for himself and two servants. In a letter of 1 March, the Bengal Government informed the Court of Directors that 'Mr. Charles D'Imhoff, in obedience to your orders transmitted from the Madras Presidency, repairs to Europe on this ship.' To account to Calcutta society for Mrs. Imhoff remaining behind, it was given out that her husband intended to return, after placating the Directors and procuring his reinstatement (Busteed, p. 138).

The *Rockingham* reached the Downs in the middle of September, 1773, and the Baron probably proceeded at once to Germany and set on foot the divorce proceedings. As already stated, no record of these had been discovered; but two years later they had been concluded and Imhoff married a second wife. The news of the divorce did not reach Calcutta until the middle of 1777; then Mrs. Imhoff resumed her maiden name, and on 8 August in that year she and Hastings were married amidst great rejoicings.

The view of these transactions set forth above obviously rests on no sure foundations; but it seems to me to be consistent with the facts so far as they are known, and far more consonant with the characters of the actors than the story hitherto accepted. That the principals were not conscious of any guilt in the matter appears to be evident; nor did Hastings or his wife bear any grudge against Imhoff. At a later date, Charles Imhoff was encouraged by his mother to seek out his father's family by the second wife; while on his side the Baron requested Mrs. Hastings to become godmother to one of his daughters by his second marriage—a request which was willingly granted.

WILLIAM FOSTER.



NASIR-U-DEEN HYDER.

William Knighton's Private Life of an Eastern King

THIS book which was first published in 1855 deals with the household and life of Nussir-u-deen, King of Oude, the son of Ghazi-u-deen Hyder who reigned from 1827 to 1837. It purports to be compiled for a Member of the Household of his late Majesty and the preface to the first edition is written by that individual himself, who says that the narrative was compiled from the notes he took of passing events during the three and a half years that he lived in the Court of Lucknow. The actual compiler is Mr. William Knighton who in his preface to the third edition (Chelsea, October 1855) relates that he made the acquaintance of the narrator at a friend's house (at Sydenham) in the autumn of 1854 and thinking the facts strange proposed to him to write a book on the subject. He was by no means unwilling. Chapter after chapter was compiled from his notes and verbal communications, and read out to him as each was finished. The Member of the Household, however, would not put his name to it; so the work was at first issued anonymously. "The book comes before us", says the Times "without a name but with every other mark of authenticity." The copy in my possession is a new and revised edition, London 1857 with seven illustrations by Mr. Harrison Weir. It is one of the most remarkable revelations ever written of life in a Native Court. "We might imagine it," says the Times, "a page taken out of the Arabian Nights. The wild beast fights are described in considerable detail and with great spirit." A reviewer in the "Press" "knows of no volume more calculated to arrest the attention of the reader. Chapters from the volume read like pages which once delighted the Commander of the Faithful."

The mania for surrounding himself with European adventurers was not confined to Nussir-u-deen Hyder. Lord Valentia mentions it as one of the characteristics of Saadat Ali Khan (1797-1814) the grandfather of our hero, and in many ways an estimable monarch, "that he carried his European predilection too far in abandoning the forms of an Asiatic Court and living with Europeans as an equal." He was followed by his son Ghazi-u-deen Hyder (1814-1827) who five years after his accession was transformed from the seventh and last Nawab into the first King of Oude by Lord Hastings, and incidentally gave his name to the King of Oude's sauce, once advertised in every shop window of London. His son Nussir-u-deen is described as follows by Captain afterwards General G. C. Mundy who visited his Court on December 11th, 1827, when Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief Lord Combermere: "The King is a plain vulgar looking man of about 26 years of age, his stature about 5 feet 9 inches and

his complexion rather unusually dark. His Majesty's mental endowments, pursuits, and amusements are by no means of an elevated or dignified order although his deficiencies are in some measure supplied by the abilities and shrewdness of his Minister, who is however an unexampled rogue and detested by all ranks with the exception of his Royal Master who reposes the most perfect confidence in him." As Mundy does not specially mention his European entourage except a Piemontese conjurer in the pay of the Nawab who entertained us much by his ingenious tricks, it is possible that the King began to surround himself after this period with his rabble of boon companions.

They were five in number and on page 13 the favoured five are designated by the Member of the Household as; his tutor; his librarian; his German painter and musician; the captain of his body-guard; and last but by no means least his barbar. Of these five, writes Knighton's informant, I was one. It has not been easy to identify the originals of this Panchayat. For years I was unable to trace who they were except the barbar. It was only recently that I found their names in the ninth edition of the Tourist's Guide to Lucknow by Mr. Edward Hilton whose name must be familiar to every visitor to the Residency which he helped to defend as a boy of the Martinière. The old man told me himself in June 1920 that he got these names from a person called Johnson now dead. The barber was De Russet; the tutor Wright; the painter and musician Muntz; the librarian Cropley and the commandant Captain R. J. H. Magness, who died at Lucknow 18th December 1856 and whose widow Mary Anne was killed at Lucknow by rebels in June 1857, and to whose joint memory stands the earliest tablet in Christ Church, Lucknow.

The account of the barber deserves to be quoted in full. "He was the greatest man of the five and his influence far greater than that of the native prime minister or Nawaub. His history truly and honestly written would form one of the oddest chapters of human life. All that a Member knows of him is this. He had come out to Calcutta as cabin boy in a ship. Having been brought up as a hair dresser in London he left his ship on arriving in the Hugly to resume his old business. He was successful; he pushed and puffed himself into notoriety. At length he took to going up the river with European merchandise and became in fact what is called there a river-trader. Arrived at Lucknow he found a Resident,—not the same who was there when I entered the King's service—anxious to have the ringlets of his wig restored to their pristine crispness and brilliancy; and the river-trader was not above resuming his old business. Marvellous was the alteration he made in the Resident's appearance and so the great Saheb himself introduced the wonder-working barber to the King. That Resident is in England now and writes M. P. after his name." Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts who had been Resident from 1823 to 1830, was succeeded in 1830-31 by Thomas Herbert Maddock who went out as a writer in 1814 and retired in 1849, a knight and a C. B. He was M. P. for Rochester 1852-7 and died January 15th, 1870 in his eightieth year.

"The King had peculiarly lank, straight hair; not the most innocent approach to a curl had ever been seen on it. The barber wrought wonders again, and the King was delighted. Honours and wealth were showered upon the lucky coiffeur. He was given a title of nobility. Sofraz Khan (the Illustrious Chief) was his new name, and men bowed to him in Oude. The whilom cabin-boy was a man of power now, and wealth was rapidly flowing in upon him. The king's favourite soon becomes wealthy in a native state. The barber, however, had other sources of profit open to him besides bribery; he supplied all the wine and beer used at the King's table. Every European article required at Court came through his hands and the rupees accumulated in thousands. Nussir put no bounds to the honours he heaped upon the fascinating barber; unlimited confidence was placed in him. By small degrees he had at last become a regular guest at the royal table, and sat down to take dinner with the King as a thing of right; nor would His Majesty taste a bottle of wine opened by any other hands than the barber's. So afraid was His Majesty of being poisoned by his own family, that every bottle of wine was sealed in the barber's house before being brought to the King's table; and before he opened it, the little man looked carefully at the seal to see that it was all right. He then opened it, and took a portion of a glass first, before filling one for the King. Such was the etiquette at the royal table when I first took my place at it." The copy of the book in the Public Library, Lucknow, contains the following note in pencil at the foot of page 15. "Above Barber's story is exactly that of the Jeypore Estate, Rajputana, in 1921 or a few years before, A." Who "Mr. A." is I know not; but I hope to communicate with the Jeypore Durbar and trace the parallel farther.

"The confidence reposed in the favourite was, of course, soon generally known over India, or at all events in Bengal. "The low menial" as the Calcutta Review called him (Vol. III, article, Kingdom of Oude) was the subject of squibs, pasquinades, attacks, and satirical verses without number; and marvellously little did the low menial care what they said of him, as long as he accumulated rupees. They had the wit and the satire, and he had the money; so far, he was content. Of the newspapers the most incessant in its attacks was the Agra Uckbar, a paper since defunct. Shortly before I left Lucknow, the barber employed a European clerk in the Resident's Office to answer the attacks of the Uckbar in one of the Calcutta papers with which he corresponded; and for this service the clerk was paid a hundred Rs. (10£) a month. So that, if the barber had not his own poet like the tailors in London, he had, at all events, his Own Correspondent, like the Times."

This admirable account closes the first chapter of *The Private Life* which is entitled *My Introduction to Royalty*. Chapter II deals with the amusements of a King and starts with a description of a dinner party at 9 p.m., the usual dinner hour in the Palace. The King made his appearance leaning on the arm of the barber, being much the taller of the two, the favourite making up in breadth what he wanted in height. The King is

described as a gentlemanly looking man, not without a certain kingly grace; his air and figure a complete contrast to that of his companion, on which nature had indelibly stamped the characteristics of vulgarity. Both were dressed similarly; and the contrast they presented was made all the more striking by the outward habiliments in which they resembled each other. The cookery was excellent; for a Frenchman presided in a royal kitchen, a cook that had formerly been *chef-de-cuisine* in the Bengal Club at Calcutta. But neither the French cook nor the Irish coachman were allowed any liberty out of their respective stations; while the English barber was all in all. It appears from this that His Majesty had dismissed the Jehu of his predecessor of whom Captain Mundy records: "On my way there I saw His Majesty's equipage à l'anglaise waiting at one of the entrances. It was a kind of Lord Mayor's coach, with eight long tailed horses in hand. The coachman, a fierce looking Mussulman, with a curling beard and mustachios, cut rather a strange figure in a livery of the latest London fashion."

The account of the other associates of His Majesty's dissipation is not so detailed as the history of the barber. It is clear that the narrator was not the tutor, for he mentions on page 32 that he profited by the silent lesson he received while witnessing the King's game at draughts with the tutor at which he found that royalty must not be beaten. A Member speaks of himself as visiting Oude in the ordinary routine of mercantile life and not as an adventurer. He was not presented by the Resident but through a friend at Court; and had got a hint that there was an office in the King's Household vacant and that if he met His Majesty and offered the usual present, he might be accepted and appointed to it. I am inclined to think he was Cropley, the librarian; for although the Life contains no reference to books (except Charles O'Malley and the Arabian Nights) or libraries the narrative is evidently that of an educated man who had travelled and could express himself in English with ease and often with raciness. There are references to Russia, to Paris and the gardens of Versailles to Roman Catholic Cathedrals on the Continent, and to the custom of the Court of Berlin to have a boar hunt at Gruneward on St. Hubert's Day, the 3rd of November, so that it sometimes might be thought that the author was Muntz, who is obviously the one of the party described on page 76 as formerly an officer of dragoons in the Austrian service, and still bearing a warlike aspect from his huge moustaches. But there are too many references to London and its scenes, its shop-windows and its drawing rooms for the narrator to have been a foreigner and he expressly mentions on page 3 that he had never been in either Moscow or Dresden. Nor was it Captain Magness for on page 153 and other places he speaks of the Captain of the Body-guard meeting them and telling them of various occurrences. Chapter XIII and last details the circumstances which led to his departure from Lucknow. It was very perceptible, he says, that the hero of the curling tongs was in fact the real ruler of the Palace and his participation with the King in a disgraceful scene at which he made drunk and stripped naked the King's uncles, Saadut and Asoph, so disgusted a Member and the companion who had introduced him into Nussir's service that they protested and refused to

sit down again at table if the barber was there. The companion is described as being the most influential European at Court, the barber always excepted. The Captain is spoken of as trying to act as peacemaker, so that I believe the two to have been the tutor and librarian. They were both dismissed from the service, removed themselves to Constantia, took refuge under the protection of the Resident and were speedily on their way to Calcutta.

On their departure the barber ruled with more despotic sway than ever. "All decency and propriety," says the *Calcutta Review*, "were banished from the Court. Such was more than once the King's conduct at this period that Colonel Low, the Resident, refused to receive him or to transact business with his minions." The favourite brought out his brother from England and a European chief butler was added to the Court with the official title of *Darogha* of the Kitchen. The other two European members of the household became mere nonentities in the Palace and these three were the sole possessors of power and influence. At length things came to a climax. The Resident's complaints reached the ears of the King who said to his barber one day in a fit of anger, "You have driven away the only good counsellors I had and now you think you can do what you like with me—you and your brother. But you will find yourselves mistaken and that before long. The Resident is quite right. You are the evil genius that has made the Palace what it is."

The barber became alarmed at this and fled precipitately one night to Cawnpore where he was within the Company's territories and safe from the King's anger. When Nussir-u-deen heard of his flight he sent officers to his house, confiscated all his property and imprisoned his brother and son who would probably have been executed had it not been for the Resident. As it was they remained in durance vile for ten days until the King and his prime minister had made an end of confiscation. The property seized by them which nominally belonged to the barber is stated to have been worth a lakh of rupees.

The barber lost no time in proceeding to Calcutta and thence to England as soon as he was joined by his relatives. The fortune which he carried away with him cannot be accurately estimated; but it is said to have been not less than twenty four lakhs of rupees (£240,000). Arrived in England he speculated largely and for a time successfully. He was a merchant, a partner in a distillery, a stock-jobber. The Railway mania gave the first check to his prosperity. He lost largely by speculations at that time. The distillery was the cause of still further losses; and in 1854 he went through the Insolvent Court. His name however is still (1857) in the London Directory with "Esq., merchant" after it and he resides in one of the neatest and most fashionable of suburban retreats.

On one of the fourteen tablets to the victims of the Nana's Massacre in All Saints Memorial Church, Cawnpore, the names are found of Mr. De Russell, wife and children. He was a merchant at Cawnpore and either the brother or the son of the barber. Mr. Hilton believes him to have been the son. Researches in the India Register elicit the following details. A. G. W.

Derussett appears from 1830 to 1835 as a hair-dresser and from 1833 onwards his address is given as Calcutta. A. G. M. Derussett appears in 1836 at Lucknow and continues till May 1837. The bolt to Calcutta was apparently in March of that year and the Literary Gazette for September 29, 1855 in noticing the life of An Eastern King gives a different account of the barber's flight. But Knighton in a note to page 278 of his last edition states that the account which he gives is from one who was in Lucknow at the time, and he has no doubt of his accuracy. The India Register names yet another W. H. Derussett from 1832 to 1836. In the first year he is described as an indigo planter and from 1833 to 35 at Serhampore (sic.). In 1836 his address is Lucknow. In the 1837 list he is absent. It emerges from all this that G. W. and G. M. are the same person and that W. H. was the brother.

As for Nussir-u-deen Hyder, the Refuge and Asylum of the World, his sending away of the barber was the signing of his own death warrant. His family gradually introduced their own servants into the Palace; and four months after the favourite's flight the King was poisoned on the night of the 7th July, 1837. One of the uncles whom he had treated so badly, a cripple, succeeded him on the throne and a son of that uncle, says Knighton, is the present king.

The poisoning is said to have taken place in the underground rooms of the Lesser Chota Munzil in a building called Gulistan-i-Eram or the Heavenly Garden. Two females, sisters of the King's prime favourite Daljit, from whose hands alone he would receive any drink are generally supposed to have poisoned him at the instigation of the Minister, Roshan-ud-daulah, Nussir having called a short time before his death for some *sherbet* which was given him by the elder, Dhaniah Mahri. He was buried in Kerbela, to the south east of the Imambara, or Tomb of Malka Afak, wife of Muhammad Ali Shah, situated in Iradat Nagar, north of the Goomtee and approached by the road leading over the Iron Bridge. This bridge was brought from England by order of King Ghazi-u-deen who died before it arrived. Nussir-u-deen ordered it to be put up in front of the Residency and gave the contract to a Mr. Sinclair who failed. The erection was thus delayed till the reign of the next King.

In the year 1918 I instituted a correspondence in the Pioneer to try and find out the names of the boon companions of the Eastern King, and my queries elicited certain answers. Mr. W. C. C. Francis of Ballia, United Provinces spoke to hearing the following names as being about the King's person from his grandparents who were in Lucknow at that time: Catania; Aspa; Baldwin; Cornelius; Bruvette or Brouet; Bailey; Manuel; Murray; Farrel; Nowdon. The only name out of these which I have been able to trace is Catania. Three individuals of that name, G., Thomas junior, and John are described as being in the service of the King of Oude at Lucknow in the India Register from 1832 to 1835 January. They are not in the List for May 1835. Thomas Catania senior was a professor of music in Calcutta and they may have been members of the Band. Low Valentia mentions that in 1803 "a band of music (which the Nawaub Saadut-Ali Khan had



DHANIA MAHRI.

purchased from Colonel Morris) played English tunes the whole time." A Mrs. and Mr. Catania, Inspector of Post Offices, were killed in the Mutiny and are commemorated both on the Monuments in the Fatehgarh Churchyard and in All Saints Cawnpore. They with others came by boat from Fatehgarh to Cawnpore only to be murdered there by the Nana and had a child with them who is mentioned in the thirteenth Cawnpore tablet which commemorates the Fatehgarh fugitives. An earlier Cawnpore inscription in the Cutcherry Cemetery reads: "To the Memory of Cornelia Rosalinda the beloved wife of T. Catania, Esq., Junr., who departed this life on the 8th March, 1844, Aged 25 years and 8 days."

The miniature painter is Mr. C. Muntz or Munz, who is described on page 76 as our guardian dragoon and formerly in the Austrian army. The 1832 List shows an E. Cropley, an indigo planter at Jessore. Of Wrights, there are five in 1830 and two more in 1832 but nothing to show that any one of them was at Lucknow.

Time would fail me to tell of the other interesting titbits to be found in the book. The fight between the man-eating horse and the tiger Burrhea is admirably told in Chapter VII and an illustration on page 112 depicts the fire-eater prostrate before the man-eater with the King in his invariable tall hat looking on. The monarch's colloquies with his tutor are well hit off on page 13. "On the first evening of my arrival at the Palace the King held one of his private dinners. Five European members of his household usually attended these. One was nominally the King's tutor, employed to teach him English. The King valorously resolved over and over again to give up an hour a day to study; for he was anxious to speak English fluently. As it was he was often obliged to eke out his sentences with a Hindustani word. I have seen His Majesty sit down by the tutor, some books on the table before them. "Now, master" (he always called his tutor master), "Now, master, we will begin in earnest." The tutor would read a passage from the Spectator or from some popular novel and the King would read it after him. The tutor would read again. "Boppery Bopp, but this is dry work!", would His Majesty exclaim stretching himself, when it came to his turn to read once more, "let us have a glass of wine, master." The glass of wine led to conversation, the books were pushed away, and so the lesson ended. Such lessons seldom occupied more than ten minutes. The tutor got about fifteen hundred pounds a year for giving them."

It is a heart-rending comment on this story to be told that the King only knew about a dozen words of English and the tutor about the same number of Urdu words and that any prolonged conversation between them was impossible.

Mr. J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., writes as follows on page 180 of his "Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny" (Swan Sonnenschein, 1910), a book which bears on its title page an apt quotation from Pindar. "One morning Joseph brought a gentleman whom he said he wished to introduce to me, and a ginger-whiskered Englishman past middle age, of moderate stature, walked in, whom I discovered to be the celebrated Mr. De Russet, celebrated, at least,

to those who had read "The Private Life of an Eastern King." For he was the very barber, to whose skill the elaborate locks of Nusr-ood-Deen-Hyder bear testimony in the effigies of him to be seen in the Moosa Bagh at Lucknow. In later interviews, he declared that the book was a pure romance; but he was too interested a party to be received as an impartial critic. One thing he stoutly denied, which I thought not unlikely, namely that the conversations between the King and the librarian were purely imaginary; in proof of which, he urged that the King knew only two or three words of English, whilst the librarian was equally ignorant of Hindoostanee. All traces of fast life had disappeared, if they ever existed, from the appearance of Mr. De Russet, and he bore every aspect of a quiet, well-to-do tradesman."

Apparently the person killed at Cawnpore was the barber's brother, whom that factotum once hoped might succeed him as hair dresser and park ranger and not the great little man himself. If the victim had been his son, he could hardly have failed to tell Sherer or Sherer to forget it. The librarian Crolepy, if author of the book, went to Lucknow from Calcutta on business and *The Private Life* opens with the words: "It is now more than twenty years since business first took me to Lucknow"; and as he talks of Calcutta and all that he had heard there of the peculiar features of Lucknow and its Court, and the King's fondness for Europeans not in the Company's Service, it is impossible to believe that he was so ignorant of Hindustani when he solicited employment in the royal house.

Mr. Knighton wrote several other books: a History of Ceylon derived from native chronicles, 1845; *Forest Life in Ceylon* (2nd edition 1854) in two volumes; *Tropical Sketches or Reminiscences of an Indian Journalist*, 1855, and a novel; but it may be doubted whether he ever produced anything so good as the *Life of an Eastern King*. It is only to be compared to Elihu Jan's story or the *Private Life of an Eastern Queen* published from his pen by Longmans Green & Co. in 1865. In Mr. Crooke's Introduction to Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's *Observation on the Musulmauns of India* (Oxford University Press 1917) it is written: "The cause of her final departure from India is a highly coloured sketch of Court Life in the days of King Nasir-ud-daula, the *Private Life of an Eastern King*, published in 1855. It is worthy of remark that she carefully avoids any reference (in her Observations) to the Palace intrigues and maladministration which prevailed in Oude during the reigns of Ghazi and Nussur-u-deen Hyder who occupied the throne during her residence in Lucknow."

The last avatar of the royal barber or rather of his descendant as a monkey fakir is described by Mr. E. J. Buck at page 190 of his *Simla Past and Present* (1904):

"Some thirty years ago a Mr. De Russet, a contractor and architect, lived in Simla, and his son became a student at the Bishop Cotton School and a member of the Volunteer Corps. The boy, however, suddenly declared himself an apostate from Christianity, and joined the fakir as a disciple at the shrine on Jokko. Here he underwent a severe novitiate and for two

years he remained under a tree with the sole company of the monkeys, and the attendant who brought him food. Eventually he was admitted into the priesthood, and for some years, from his head-dress of a leopard skin, he was known in Simla as the 'leopard fakir.' He was recently often seen in the station, but has now retired to the seclusion of a temple some distance below Annandale, avoids recognition, shuns Europeans, and appears to have forgotten his mother tongue.

"Mr. John C. Oman, formerly professor of natural science at the Government College, Lahore, in his work on the 'Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India' (1894), reproduced a photograph of 'the leopard fakir or sadhu' and wrote of him as follows. 'Some years ago at Simla I interviewed one Charles de Russeth, a young man of French descent, who although brought up as a Christian, and properly educated in Bishop Cotton's School in that time, had while a mere boy embraced the life of a 'sadhu.' Of his fellow 'sadhus' he spoke in terms of high praise, and assured me that he had seen 'jogi' adepts perform many most wonderful acts. I have no doubt he commands the highest respect from the natives, and lives idle, happy and contented, without any anxiety about the morrow."

The following extract from an article on Oude in Blackwood's Magazine for May 1858 is a fitting tail-piece to this article:

"The queerest piece of royalty ever manufactured in India itself and by the great firm of King-makers in Leadenhallstreet, whom rival politicians are now trying to "sell up" was Ghazee-ud-deen Hyder's son and successor Nussur, also a "defender of the faith"; but who prided himself on nothing so much as his attachment to the English. This sentiment was indulged, not by cultivating our notions of justice and liberty or even by courting the advice of our Resident, but by adopting the English garb, chimney-pot topee included, surrounding himself with English adventurers of the lowest class for his private companions, and dining in the English fashion of the day when boon companions deemed it *de rigueur* to terminate the entertainment beneath the table.

A curious picture of these revels where the master was an English barber, is given in a little book entitled "Private Life of an Eastern King" by a member of his household. The details find ample corroboration in the recent valuable publication of Sir William Sleeman's "Journey through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849-50." The story of "The General" for instance, of which the member of the household declares himself an eye-witness, incredible as it might be deemed without authority, is plainly to be recognised in Sir William Sleeman's history of Rajah Ghalib Jung. This individual had been raised by Ghazee-ud-deen from a very humble grade to high station from which he was again degraded, plundered, and reduced to death's door by harsh treatment and want of food. After the accession of Nussur he contrived to crawl back again to Court, and insinuating himself into the King's private debaucheries, became useful to him in ways to which his English jolly friends could not stoop. He stood accordingly high in His Majesty's favour, receiving the command of the police and a brigade of

infantry, and was commonly known in the household as "The General." Of course he enriched himself: of course also he was hated by the prime minister who was the constant butt of his ridicule with the merry monarch. The hour of the General's disgrace came, however, with this king as well as with his father. He was secretly accused to his majesty of rivalling him in his amours: but as this was a point on which an oriental dreads publicity, the incensed monarch "bided his time" for some plausible ground of punishment. There is little difference in the *causa belli* as related by our eye-witness and by Sir W. Sleeman who had the story from native authority some years after and says it occurred on the 7th of October 1835. The member of the household says His Majesty was twirling his own European hat on his royal thumb when the latter went through the top and the "General" thinking to be witty, exclaimed "there is a hole in your Majesty's crown." The royal countenance darkened, he declared the pun to be treason, and adjudged the offender to death. He was thrust into prison and with three of his followers put in chains and twice flogged. After the first flogging the King got drunk and before many persons ordered the minister to have Ghalib's right hand and nose cut off forthwith: but this was remitted from dread of the Resident. The females of his family were at first made prisoners in their own house and later on ordered to be brought on foot to the palace by force, when Nussur publicly declared that they should all on the next day have their hair shaved off, be stripped naked and in that state turned out into the street. The Resident interposed; but the "General" was not let off. He was handed over for a consideration of three lakhs of rupees to Rajah Dursun Sing, the great revenue contractor whom he had often thwarted when in power. By him he was put into an iron cage and sent to his fort at Shah-gunge where, report says, he had snakes and scorpions placed in the cage to torment and destroy him. But Ghalib survived and after Nussur's death got out of confinement by payment of a large bribe, was again restored to office and eventually died in honour at the age of 80. He was a consummate villain and richly deserved hanging."

JULIAN JAMES COTTON.

The Company's Trade in Bengal in the days of Cornwallis.

(BASED MAINLY ON MANUSCRIPT RECORDS IN THE IMPERIAL RECORD OFFICE CALCUTTA.)

IT is well known that the East India Company was primarily a trading corporation rather than a government charged with the administration of Bengal. A study of its trade gives therefore an insight into its administration. The trade in Cornwallis's days was remarkable in more ways than one. It was during this period that there were the first trial shipments of Indian jute to Britain and of British piecegoods to India—commodities which almost dominate the trade between the two countries at the present time. The trade with America also began at this time which is now of such growing importance.

Woollens and metals.

The general character of the import trade, however, remained unchanged. Thus woollen goods and metals continued to be the chief imports throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century. Only a few months before the arrival of Cornwallis in Bengal, the Court of Directors wrote (1) to the Governor General in Council "our exports to your Presidency this season would principally consist of:—

338 bales of broad cloth, 50 bales of long ells, 40 bales of broad long ells, 2 boxes of tabbinets (*sic*), lead 50 tons, iron 50 tons, copper 350 tons, Madeera wine 250 pipes."

The trade in woollens was generally unprofitable. Thus in their letter dated March 25, 1791, the Court of Directors said, "in regard to woollens we are sorry to observe the very evident decline of this branch of our concerns, both in your provinces and on the Malabar coast." In the course of the same letter they remarked "rather than suffer them (woollen goods) to remain perishing on hand and incurring a weight of accumulating interest, we consent to your disposing of them even at prime cost." The case was otherwise with regard to metals which generally sold at a profit.

Inventions in English cotton manufactures.

A new import in Cornwallis's days which had later on far-reaching effects on the economic life of Bengal, was English cotton manufactures. As is well-known, a series of inventions during the latter half of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century turned England

(1) Letter from the Court of Directors, dated April 12, 1786.

from an industrially backward country into "the workshop of the world." Even as late as 1764 cotton weaving was an insignificant industry in England, her cotton exports being one-twentieth of her woollen exports. Moreover, these cotton goods were mixed stuffs, half cotton and half linen. The English spinners of those days could not produce cotton yarn sufficiently strong to be used as warp, and consequently linen thread had to be used for this purpose. (2) The invention of Arkwright's water-frame in 1768 removed this difficulty. It produced cotton yarn suitable for warp, so that pure cotton goods could be made in England. One year before this, Hargreaves had invented his spinning jenny, increasing elevenfold the power of the spinner. In 1775, Crompton combined the principles of the jenny and the water-frame and evolved a machine called the mule. This could spin yarn so fine that the manufacture of muslin became possible in England. Lastly, there came Cartwright's power loom in 1784.

First sample of English muslin sent to Bengal in 1783.

One year before the invention of the power loom, the first sample of English muslin was sent to Bengal. In their letter of March 1, 1783, the Court of Directors said: "We transmit you by this conveyance three small boxes containing musters of some muslins, the produce of a manufacture that has lately been set up at Manchester. . . . The great degree of perfection to which this manufacture is already arrived, although at present only in its infant state, the prices which are 20 per cent. under our own. . . . cannot but alarm us for so important a branch of our commerce. . . . We doubt not therefore but you will also exert yourself to the utmost in causing the manufacturers of Bengal to pay every attention not only to an improvement of the fabric of muslins but also to a reduction of the prices, as (on) both the one and the other will depend very much our future success in this article."

Rapid improvement of English cotton goods.

Unfortunately, no attempt was made to improve the quality of the cotton fabrics of Bengal, while the English manufacturers were making rapid improvements in their own wares. In their letter of August 20, 1788, the Court of Directors observed: "By the great ingenuity and persevering industry of the British manufacturers, the article of muslins in the ordinary and middling assortments is at length brought to that degree of perfection that there is every reason to apprehend a sufficient supply of the best Surat cotton will enable them to meet the Indian white piecegoods of the above description in the foreign markets." In the course of the same letter the Court of Directors also observed that the duty and freight on the Company's import had already enabled the English manufacturers to undersell Indian

(2) There is at present a similar difficulty in India in weaving *khaddar* (homespun cotton). Handspun yarn is not generally strong enough for the warp and mill made yarn has often to be used for that purpose.

cotton goods in the British market. In its reply to the British manufacturers in 1788, the Company also observed that 85 per cent. of the calicoes and 60 per cent. of the muslins imported by the Company was re-exported from England at the time.

Why the Company did not protect the indigenous industry.

The Company considered the trade in Indian cotton goods, especially in coarser stuffs as doomed and did not, or rather could not, take any step to protect the national industry of Bengal from the competition of its new rival. It was not even possible to reserve for the Bengal industry its foreign market. It was hardly prudent for a private corporation, enjoying special trade privileges from the British Parliament, to antagonise the manufacturing interest in England by restricting the import of British cotton goods to India. In fact, the Company looked at the question of Lancashire competition, not from the point of view of the ruling power in Bengal, but solely from the stand-point of its own pecuniary interest as a trading body.

Enquiry whether Manchester goods would sell in Bengal.

In their letter of March 28, 1788, the Court of Directors enquired whether Manchester goods were "likely to answer for sale" in this country. They even went further and a few months later in compliance with the wishes of the (English) manufacturers came to the resolution of importing 500,000 lbs. weight of Broach and Surat cotton or cotton of the produce of Bengal of a similar quality. (3) The Company took these steps, not with the deliberate intent of injuring the cotton industry of Bengal, but simply in the interest of its own dividend. Woollen goods did not sell in this country and the Court of Directors enquired whether English cotton goods would have a profitable market in India. They looked at the export trade of Bengal mainly as a channel for the remittance of surplus revenue. As there was the competition of British goods in the English and other foreign markets, the Company considered it good policy to export raw materials in lieu of Indian manufactures. Moreover, such a policy which would be regarded as quite "patriotic," would also help to stop public clamour in England against the Company's monopoly of trade in India (4).

Import of British cotton goods insignificant up to the end of the Napoleonic wars.

But the Company's anxiety to push the sale of Manchester goods did not immediately affect the cotton industry of Bengal to any serious extent. Cartwright's power loom was imperfect in many ways and its wider use in England became possible only after Horrocks's improvements in 1813. The import of British cotton goods to Bengal thus continued to be insignificant right up to the downfall of Napoleon.

(3) Letter from the Court of Directors, dated August 20, 1788.

(4) With the same objects in view, *viz.*, to remit surplus revenue and to secure public support in England to its trade privileges, the Company encouraged the production of raw silk and indigo which were raw materials of British industries, at a great financial sacrifice.

Cotton exports of Bengal uninterrupted till 1793.

Two important changes in the cotton trade of Bengal took place during the administration of Cornwallis. One was the loss of the English market, a small one since the passing of the Acts of 1700 and 1720, and the other was a reduction in the export of muslins to France after the outbreak of the French Revolution. These fine stuffs had a large sale in the Court of Versailles. The French Revolution practically ruined this trade. Apart from these changes, the Company's export of Bengal cotton goods continued more or less uninterrupted during the administration of Cornwallis. Excepting the temporary fall in 1788 and 1789, which was probably due to the famine (5) of 1788 and its after effects, the sale value of the Company's export of Bengal piecegoods exceeded one million pounds (6) per annum throughout the administration of Cornwallis. This trade continued also to be in general profitable during the period. The five half-yearly sales in London from March 1788 to March 1790 of which there is a detailed account in the Commercial Letters from the Court of Directors, show that Bengal piecegoods sold at a profit during these two years and a half. But the war with France soon made this trade unprofitable. In their letter dated July 2, 1794, the Court of Directors referred to the low prices realised by the last consignment of piecegoods from Bengal, in spite of their good quality, "on account of the lack of competition between the home and foreign buyers."

Raw silk.

The export next in importance to cotton goods was raw silk. It was supplied under contracts chiefly with the Company's own servants and other Europeans from the year 1774. This led to corruption which was stopped by Cornwallis by reverting to the Agency system in 1787-88. It made a definite improvement and in the September sale of 1787, 97,810 (great) (7) lbs. of raw silk were sold at an average price of £1-4-9 per lb. by which the Company gained £9,728. Six months later, in the March sale of 1788, 73,329 (great) lbs. were sold at a profit of £10,726. This was partly due to the rise in the price of raw silk in England "on account of the almost entire failure of the last season in Italy" (8). But in the September sale of 1788, the Company lost £1,195. This was probably due to the high price of raw silk in Bengal during the famine of 1788. But at the three next half-yearly sales, the Company's raw silk sold at a profit.

(5) This was the second great famine in Bengal. Though not so widespread as the famine of 1770, it was very severe; mothers sold their children—see *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth*, Vol. I, p. 156.

(6) For the quantity and value of Bengal piecegoods exported from 1771 to 1809-10, see *Milburn—Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, pp. 234-235.

(7) There were two different measures for raw silk, small lb. of 16 oz. and great lb. of 24 oz.

(8) Letter from the Court of Directors, dated March 28, 1788.

Reduced demand for silk in England.

One adverse factor in the silk trade was the progress of cotton manufactures in England "which almost entirely banished silk from the dress of British ladies." The export to England during the seven years 1786 to 1792 averaged 319,832 lbs. a year as compared with the average annual export of 560,283 lbs. during the decade 1776-1785. This trade received a further check with the outbreak of the war with France in 1793. There was a severe depression in the English silk manufactures and the Company postponed its September sale of the year till February next, when the silk was disposed of at such low prices that the Company lost £47,746. To guard against future losses, the Company resolved "that the surplus quantity of silk beyond what the markets could take in its raw state, was to be thrown into the organzine in England." This experiment was successful and in spite of the war, the Company's trade in raw silk showed a partial recovery.

Saltpetre.

Unlike raw silk, the sale of saltpetre in England increased during this period. During the ten years from 1783 to 1792, the Company's average annual sale of saltpetre in England reached 33,130 bags, *i.e.*, double the quantity annually sold during the eight years of war from 1775 to 1782. This increase was mainly due to the resumption of the re-export trade in saltpetre from England in the years of peace. It appears from a letter of the Court of Directors dated April 12, 1786, that the Company had been compelled to reduce considerably the price of saltpetre to meet the competition of the Dutch, the Danes and the Portuguese. In their letter of April 8, 1789, the Court of Directors complained that although they had gradually reduced the price of saltpetre from 80*s.* to 42*s.* per cwt. the demand did not show sufficient increase. In their letter of May 19, 1790, the Court of Directors remarked, "we have again reduced the price of (saltpetre) to 38*s.* . . . but out of 39,703 bags offered at the September sale only 24,896 sold at the advance of 6*d.* In the March sale of this year we declared 32,390 bags at the same price but only 21,354 sold. We have now in warehouse unsold 18,541 besides what we expect by the approaching arrivals." But this glut disappeared with the outbreak of the war with France. It appears from the letter of the Court of Directors dated October 10, 1792, that in the saltpetre sale of that year 22,000 bags were sold at an average price of £3-7-10 per cwt. The Court of Directors rightly observed that this increased demand was "owing to the present continental troubles more than to any regular or permanent increase of consumption." But apart from the profits of this sale, the Company's trade in saltpetre was generally unprofitable during the administration of Cornwallis.

Indigo.

Indigo continued also to be generally an unprofitable export. In their letter dated March 28, 1788, the Court of Directors observed: "in the

article of indigo from the time our Board of Trade entered into the first contract for that article with Mr. Prinsep in the year 1779-80 up to the latest period, we are sorry to remark the very heavy losses that have constantly accrued thereon." Accordingly the Company threw open the indigo trade to private individuals in 1788 for three years. "We are led to the measure of laying open this branch of trade," wrote the Court of Directors, "in the hopes that it will create among individuals that kind of competition, which will not fail to operate in bringing the article to its greatest possible state of perfection, and as well as to ascertain the lowest rate at which it is possible to be manufactured." These objects were partly realised. Under European enterprise, the quality of Bengal indigo rapidly improved. In their letter of May 30, 1792, the Court of Directors noted with satisfaction that "it (Bengal indigo) had already surpassed the American and French and there is no doubt but by perseverance and attention of the planters it will effectually rival the Spanish."

San and Pat.

A new class of exports which the Company ordered in 1791 consisted of fibres called *san* (hemp) and *pat* (jute). With regard to the former, the Court of Directors observed in their letter of October 23, 1793, that the sample of *san* "will not serve for the purpose of cordage or sail cloth" the two chief sources of consumption. But to give it a fair trial, the Court ordered a shipment of 100 tons. "Of the sample called *paat*" remarked the Court of Directors in the same letter, "more favourable mention can be made. Some of the most eminent dealers declare that it is not hemp, but a species of flax superior in quality to any known in the trade." The Court of Directors ordered a shipment of 1,000 tons. This is the earliest mention of the export of raw jute to England.

Company's losing trade.

These attempts to push the sale of new commodities in England did not prove successful and towards the close of the century, the Company became a loser in its trade with India. This arose from its dual character of merchants and governors which caused great extravagance and unnecessary expense in its mode of conducting business.

Commercial treaty with America.

Though the Company's trade rivals had not to incur this unnecessary expenditure, they dropped out one by one. The war in Europe prevented trade by the French and the Dutch. The Portuguese and the Danish trade, however, went on till 1806 and 1808. The real trade rivals then were the Americans. Their ships first appeared in the Indian seas about the year 1785. The Bengal Government thought it politic to admit the American vessels to its ports instead of compelling them to carry on their trade with the other European settlements in India. This "gratuitous license revokable at pleasure" was confirmed by a treaty between England and the

United States of America on November 19, 1794, (9) which granted to the latter the right of direct trade with British India. This enabled them to obtain the produce of Bengal much cheaper than they could by the circuitous route in Europe.

American trade with Bengal.

This facility and the war in Europe rapidly increased the American trade. According to the *Report on External Commerce in Bengal for 1795-96*, the exports to America had been gradually increasing since 1792 owing to the preference given there to cotton goods which were better adapted to the climate than Irish linens. The chief item of export to America was cotton goods and the main import was treasure. America being then an agricultural country, had few exportable goods to Bengal. But in spite of this, the belligerent state of Europe made the trade with Bengal highly profitable to America. It is stated in the *Report on External Commerce in Bengal for 1796-97*, that "the net profit of a voyage to Bengal, if the ship brings dollars, is estimated at 60 per cent. after the payment of every charge incidental thereto, and debiting the adventure with an interest at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum. This profit is generally realised in fifteen months."

Various factors influencing Bengal trade during the period.

Thus the official records of the East India Company throw a flood of light on the different aspects of Bengal commerce in the days of Cornwallis. The first seeds of our present trade were sown at that time. The Charter Act of 1793 which marks the beginning of economic freedom in India was also given effect to only a few months after Cornwallis had left this country. The measures taken by Cornwallis for the purification of the civil service, the establishment of law and order, the unification of currency, the removal of restraints on industry and labour and above all, the mitigation of the burden of inland duties benefited our foreign trade during the period. But it is not possible to discuss these in detail nor their bearing on trade in a short paper like this.

J. C. SINHA.

(9) This is known as the Jay Treaty. Some of its articles relating to Indo-American trade are quoted in the General Letter from the Court of Directors dated August 31, 1796.

Rajah Radhakanta Deb's services to the Country

RAJAH Radhakanta Deb occupies a prominent place among the Bengali celebrities of the early 19th century. He was born on 10th March, 1783 (1st Chaitra 1705 Saka). His father Gopimohan Deb was the adopted son of Maharajah Navakrishna, the founder of the Sovabazar Raj family of Calcutta. Though born in affluence, Radhakanta proved superior to the usual temptations around him, and directed his energies, time and resources to the pursuit of knowledge. He was a good scholar in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, besides possessing a sound knowledge of English,—which last accomplishment was very rare among the Hindus of that age.

Radhakanta readily lent his support to many a public cause. He did much for advancing education and promoting the diffusion of useful knowledge amongst his countrymen, and it was to his untiring energy that the foundation and early prosperity of many of the principal public institutions of Calcutta were due. He encouraged the training of girls, and assisted Gaurmohan Vidyalkar, head pandit of the School Society, in the preparation and publication of a pamphlet called the *Stri-siksha Vidhayaka*, which dwelt on the importance of female education and proved how it involved no violation of the precepts of the Hindu scriptures. The question of female education was in a fluid state at the time. The sight of Hindu girls nursed in confinement and reared in ignorance, deeply moved Radhakanta. He steered a middle course in the matter of reform and "advocated the education of *respectable* native females in their own homesteads, or in those of their neighbours, under some sort of general surveillance."

As an author, the high fame of Radhakanta Deb rests on the compilation and publication of the *Sabda-kalpadruma*—a comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary, the merits of which were acknowledged by learned European Societies, and for which Queen Victoria gave him a medal in July 1859. Not only did he spend a considerable portion of his fortune on it, but he devoted nearly 40 years of his life to its completion. The first volume of this monumental work appeared in 1822, and the seventh, or last, in 1852, and the Appendix, which forms a separate volume, in 1858.

Radhakanta was strictly conservative and orthodox in religion. He clung to the creed to which he had been born. When in December 1829 Lord William Bentinck made an enactment declaring the rite of *Sati* illegal, it was Radhakanta Deb who moved the Dharma-sabha—founded by his father—to appeal to the King in Council for the repeal of this humane measure!

Public honours came thick upon Radhakanta. In 1835 he was made a Justice of the Peace and an Honorary Magistrate of the town of Calcutta—

then a post of great honour as it was confined to a select few only. The title of *Rajah Bahadur* was conferred upon him in July 1837, "in consideration of the dignity of his ancestors, the high character for probity and learning he bore among his countrymen, and the laudable anxiety he had ever displayed to render his services useful to the public." (1) Radhakanta was elected as the first President of the British Indian Association on its establishment in 1851, and was the first Bengali to be created a K.C.S.I., in 1866. He died at Brindaban in the following year (19 April, 1867).

Such in brief was the career of Rajah Radhakanta Deb Bahadur, K.C.S.I. (2).

I have succeeded in unearthing in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, some State-papers—hitherto unpublished—which might be of assistance to future biographers.

On 9th November, 1833, Radhakanta Deb addressed the following letter to Government:—

"Permit me to forward to you the accompanying statement of the labours by which I endeavoured to be as useful to my countrymen as my humble capacities permitted, with the request to be pleased to lay it before the Right Honourable the Governor General. I beg leave to add that it is not by any motive of vanity I am taking the liberty of troubling you with this request, but merely by a desire of making known to His Lordship that in my humble sphere I exert myself to the best of my powers to conform myself to his high and benevolent intentions to raise the natives of India to a higher state of civilization and welfare (3).

The statement alluded to gives in brief an account of the service he rendered to his country and is quoted below:—

"Babu Radhakanta Deb, who is a Director of the Hindoo College, Member of the Calcutta School Book Society, Native Secretary of the Calcutta School Society, Vice-President of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was a Member of the late Saugor Island Society, has compiled, translated, and corrected several publications for the School Book Society. In 1821, he published a Bengali Spelling Book after Lindley Murray's plan, and also an Abridgment thereof in 1827. He translated [in 1820] a collection of Fables [Nitikatha] from

(1) Letter from W. H. Macnaghten, Secy. to the Government of India, to Babu Radhakanta Deb, dated Fort William, 10th July 1837.—*Political Proceedings*, 10th July 1837, No. 116.

(2) For fuller details, see *A rapid sketch of the life of Raja Radhakanta Deva Bahadur*, with some notices of his ancestors, and testimonials of his character and learning, by the Editors of the *Raja's Sabdakalpadruma* (Calcutta, 1859); "Radhakant Deb", *Calcutta Review*, vol. xlv (1867), pp. 317-26; Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 115.

(3) Letter to W. H. Macnaghten, Secy. to Government, dated 9th November 1833.—*Public Consultation*, 25 Nov. 1833, No. 59.

English into Bengali and revised the Bengali translation of an Easy Introduction to Astronomy. He made his house first the Depository of the Society's publications, and distributed them among the Natives, and persuaded the indigenous school-masters to use them, pledging himself there should not be introduced any religious matter therein; as particularized in the first and fourth reports of the Calcutta School Society.

- " He has, for many years, been engaged in the compilation of a Sanskrit dictionary, entitled *Sabda-kalpādruma* in imitation of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, of which three volumes have since been issued from the press, containing nearly 3,000 quarto pages, and it will take some years more to complete the work. An account of this dictionary may be found in the Second Report of the Calcutta School Book Society, page 50; *Friend of India* of 1820, N. 1, page 140; Preface to Dr. H. H. Wilson's Sanskrit and English Dictionary, edition, 1, page 38; as well as in the Preface to the Revd. W. Morton's Bengali and English Dictionary, page 6. The author has received the thanks and approbation of those learned Europeans and Natives to whom he presented copies of the work, for which applications are daily made to him from different quarters.
- " Radhakanta Deb was favoured with a Diploma, dated May 17th 1828, from the Royal Asiatic Society, in testimony of the valuable information they received from him, and a very kind letter from Sir Alexander Johnston, Knight, Chairman of the Society, bearing date the 4th July, 1828, stating in the concluding part thereof, that 'I shall, by the present opportunity, forward to the Governor General of India, a copy of the enclosed resolution, in order that he may be aware of the high respect which the Society entertains for your talents, and that he may promote, by such means as he may think proper, the literary pursuits in which you are engaged.' Radhakanta has lately translated into English an extract from a Horticultural work in Persian, and transmitted it to the Royal Asiatic Society on the 3rd December, 1832.
- " At the request of the Native community, he prepared Addresses in the English, Bengali, and Persian languages, on the occasion of the departure of the Hon'ble Sir E. H. East, Kt., late Chief Justice, and the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, late Governor General, and read them before those gentlemen. He transmitted to the Oriental Literary Society, through one of its members, his remarks on Happiness, etc., and received their thanks for the same.
- " His first correspondence was published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, volume 2nd, Appendix, pages 46, 61 and 63, Note 4 and 5. His accounts of

the agriculture of the 24-Parganas, etc., were among several useful papers contributed by him, inserted in the Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, Volume 1, pp. 48 and 62, and Volume 2nd, Part 1st, page 1, and his two letters on Native Inoculation and Small-pox, were subjoined to Dr. Cameron's Report on the present state of Vaccine Inoculation in Bengal.

" In 1822 he, at the desire of Mr. H. T. Prinsep, the late Persian Secretary, furnished him with the accounts of all respectable and opulent Natives of the Presidency. Sir E. H. East, Kt., and Sir C. E. Grey, Kt., late Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, were at the time of their departure to England, pleased to favour Radhakanta Deb with two kind letters, of which copies are also annexed."

The following reply was sent to Radhakanta by Secretary Macnaghten:—

" I have had the honor of receiving your letter dated the 9th instant with the works and copies of documents accompanying it which have been duly laid before the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General.

" 2. In reply I am directed to inform you that His Lordship has observed with much pleasure the proofs which these works and documents afford of your consistent endeavours to disseminate useful knowledge and to encourage a taste for literary and scientific attainments among the higher orders of your countrymen. His Lordship trusts that you will steadily persevere in your laudable efforts. Talent and influence are properly employed when they are devoted to works of beneficence, and your countrymen have a right to expect that those among them who have been most highly gifted by Providence should lead the way in the progress of improvement (4)."

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

(4) Letter from W. H. Macnaghten, Secy. to Government, dated 21st November 1833.—
Public Proceedings, 25 November 1833, No. 60.

The Passing away of Nawab Wazir Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh (1754-1775.)

THE letters of some noted English officials connected with the Court of Nawab Wazir Shuja-ud Daulah of Oudh (1) which are preserved in the Imperial Record Department among the Secret Department Records and also the Persian works of Syed Ghulam Hussain Khan and Abu Talib throw some interesting new light on the last days of the aforesaid Great Mughal Proconsul. As Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was perhaps the only Indian Chief of importance in the North towards the end of the 18th century, who and whose family were intimately connected with the East India Company's rule in India, some new facts from the above sources about his death will perhaps not be uninteresting to the readers of this journal.

The last great act of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah's life was the subjugation of the Rohillas in April 1774. Flushed with victory the Nawab turned his thought entirely towards incorporating the newly-conquered countries with his hereditary dominions. He had now raised his influence and power to the highest pitch, had provided himself with every object of enjoyment and had resolved to play henceforth the role of the bygone magnificent Mughal Emperors of Delhi. While Shuja-ud-Daulah was thinking of enjoying the sweets of life to his heart's content, "the Providence from afar," says *Seir Mutaqherin*, "had appointed the time which was not to be foregone for a moment." Shortly after his Rohilla victory, a sore made its appearance. Soon after, it broke open and commenced suppurating abundantly. As such a cuticular eruption had never been known to be of so serious a nature as to endanger a man's life, he made no great account of it. Nevertheless the wound increased and as it seemed to baffle all the power of physic, a suspicion arose amongst his friends and courtiers about the nature of his wound (2) that yielded to no remedy. Shuja-ud-Daulah was himself, astonished at the state of his health, resolved

(1) His full title was Asiph-Jah-Shuja-ul-Mulk, the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula, Abu-ul-Mansur Khan Bahadur Sifdar Jung Sippah Salah.

(2) "A strange report prevailed persistently just at this time and which was universally believed as true and genuine that having cast his eyes upon Hafiz Rahmat Khan's daughter, a tall, elegant and vigorous Rohilla girl of seventeen, who was then actually in Shuja-ud-Daulah's seraglio, the young lady, who had about herself a full measure of that ferocity and sense of honour so remarkable in women of the Rohilla race, at the moment Shuja-ud-Daulah was going to embrace her drew out a small claspknife from the tresses of her hair which had been dipped in poison by her mother and thrust it with all her might into his groin; from which circumstances people accounted for the rebellious nature of Shuja-ud-Daulah's wound". The report further says that the mother said to her daughter as she was going away to Shuja-ud-Daulah's seraglio, "Daughter, remember that thou art daughter to Hafiz Rahmat and the designed

to start for the Palace which he had finished at Faizabad. (3) He mounted on a *palki* and set out for that desired spot leaving his second son Mirza Saadat Ali as his Deputy in the recently acquired Rohilla countries. Arriving at Faizabad he expected a benefit from the change of air, but his wound becoming worse and worse and having by this time considerably affected his health, he called to his assistance some English Surgeons whom he joined to his "ancient and trusty ones and they spared no care or attention but all to no purpose." Matters now wore a gloomy aspect and the attending surgeons gave up all hopes of his recovery.

Towards the last week of January 1775 the state of his health became so critical that it gave rise to serious alarm. The following letter (4) from Captain Antony Polier to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, dated Faizabad the 24th January 1775 graphically describes the situation:—

"I am sorry to be under the disagreeable necessity of informing you that His Excellency's (Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah) disorder so far from being got under is increasing daily fast even so much as to be in the opinion of the specialist experienced (sic) beyond the power of medicine. He had applied a few days ago to Doctor Campbell and Capt. Stuart for their assistance and seemed at first to be much relieved from their prescriptions, though already extremely reduced when he put himself under their management. However he yesterday at the solicitation of his Begum and brothers in having returned again to his own physicians, who have administered so effectually, he has been at the last gasp ever since. He is so emaciated and so weak, it is hardly possible that he should be able to support his miseries a day longer.

In the apartment of his Begum surrounded constantly by a crowd of women lamenting and bewailing, it is no wonder if rest is a stranger to him. Indeed notwithstanding the opiates which have been for several days past prescribed for him in order to compose him, the blindness of those near him is such, that spite of all can be said, the moment they see him in a dose, they are for awaking him to see if he is alive. In short, it is hardly credible to what a degree they carry their folly or attachment, if it can bear that name. The Nawab himself seems—sensible of his danger and of the inability (records torn here) has not sufficient resolution left

bride of a Rohilla prince. Thou wert not born to be any man's concubine, still less of that man who has killed thy father and entailed slavery and prostitution upon our family which he had reduced to beggary. Go, but perish a thousand times, rather than suffer any defilement. If thou art a true Rohilla girl, that man will not prevail upon thee." "This girl," according to the above report, "was afterwards stabbed by three eunuchs by the order of the wounded Shuja-ud-Daulah." (*Mutaqherin*, Vol. IV, p. 60).

(3) Faizabad rose to a height of unparalleled prosperity under Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah and almost rivalled Delhi in magnificence. It was full of merchants from Persia, China and Europe and money flowed like water. After his death the city fell into a rapid decay. (*Faizabad Gazetteer*, by H. R. Nevill).

(4) Secret O. C. 6 February 1775, no. 2.

to stand their entreaties and solicitations and in all likelihood he will die a martyr to his weakness.

I thought it absolutely necessary to give you this information which I delayed till now from my hopes his situation will mend. I have the honour to be with great respects etc."

For two days more the Nawab hovered between life and death. At the early dawn of the 26th January 1775, Captain Polier hurriedly wrote the following letter (5) to Warren Hastings from Faizabad:—

"I did myself the honour of addressing you the day before yesterday. Since that time the Vizier has been hourly growing worse and for these last 20 hours almost insensible and unable to take anything. In short no hopes are left and his dissolution is at hand. It is difficult to find words to express the sorrow and grief of almost all his attendants and in general of every inhabitant of this place at this event which makes in my opinion no bad apology of a prince who with many faults and foibles must yet be acknowledged to have been not only the first and the greatest man in Hindusthan but also endowed with many good and worthy qualities".

At half past seven p.m. on the same day Capt. Polier wrote another letter (6) to the Governor-General with which he enclosed a letter from Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah written by the Nawab on that morning. The following is the letter of Captain Polier:—

"I had despatched my letter of his day when the enclosed was delivered to me to be immediately forwarded to you. It contains the last request of a prince who recommends his family to your protection. My heart is too full to say anything further on this subject, but he is no more. The letter was wrote (sic) this morning in one of his intervals. I have the honour to be etc."

The letter of the dying Nawab which Capt. Polier forwarded to Warren Hastings with his above letter shews clearly how for the first time in his life Shuja-ud-Daulah realised the transitoriness and vanity of earthly pleasures and the certainty of death. It also shows how keenly he thought of the welfare of his son, Asaf-ud-Daulah, born of his beloved and faithful Consort, Bahu Begum, who stood by him like a firm rock during his dark days after his Buxar and Jajmau disasters in 1764. The English translation of the letter (7) from the Nawab runs thus:—

"How shall I express to you the violence of the sufferings I undergo from my disorder. Blessed be the name of the Almighty on all occasions. In other respects everything goes well. As we are inseparably connected and I depend wholly on your friendship I shall write you the following particulars. It is evident that the world is not eternal and that it is the lot of every one who is

(5) Secret O. C. 6 February 1775 no. 3.

(6) Secret O. C. 8 February 1775 no. 4.

(7) Secret O. C. 6 February 1775 no. 5.

born into it to quit it again. If by the goodness of God I should recover I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again; but if on the contrary my days are near to a conclusion, God's will be done. I depend on your friendship, that after my decease, considering my dear son Asaf-ud-Daulah in my place you will afford him your assistance and on every occasion act for his benefit and advantage. I have no dependence but on the Almighty and the English Chiefs. It is well known to you and to them all, that from the day that a friendship was established between us to this time, my authority and interest have been supported wholly by them. I, therefore, have no doubt of their friendship on all future occasions. If your conduct on this occasion is upright it will redound to your eternal honour and it will be transmitted to posterity that the English Chiefs acted in this upright manner in consideration of their friendship. As you, my friend, are a just man, I depend on your generosity that you will on every occasion protect and assist him and my dear son Asaf-ud-Daulah will pay the same attentive regard to your friendship as I have always done and will in the same manner always act conformably to your advice and will remain in alliance with you". This letter was received by Warren Hastings on the 5th February, 1775.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of the 26th January 1775 (Thursday) the Nawab Vazir of Oudh calmly expired after solemnly pronouncing his profession of religious faith (8) to his family.

One hour later, *i.e.*, at 7 a.m. Col. P. Gailliez from Faizabad communicated this sorrowful news to the Board at Calcutta. This was perhaps the first authentic official intimation to the Board regarding the Nawab's death. The letter of Gailliez was received by them on the night of the 5th February 1775 and was immediately sent in circulation to the members on the next morning. The letter (9) runs as follows:—

"Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

It is with utmost concern I inform you of the death of the Vazir who departed this life an hour ago. Mr. Campbell and Capt. Stuart attended and dressed him till he died, but for two days past he took no medicine inwardly from them. The mother and the rest of the family about him in their too great anxiety would not admit of anything but from themselves to be administered to him.

His eldest son and presumptive successor the Nabob Mirza Amanny has applied to me for your support in his just rights, and my assistance with the troops if necessary, which I have assured him

(8) For the Muhammadans this profession of faith is quite plain and short. It is this: "I believe that there is no God, but God, and also that Muhammad is His Messenger. I believe in God, in His Angles, His Prophets, His Books and in the Resurrection and also that evil and good come from God."

(9) Secret O. C. 6 February 1775 no. 1.

of until I am honoured with your commands and instructions for my guidance on this occasion. I shall, therefore, remain here and give him every assistance and protection to the family in my power.

At present all are in the utmost tranquility in the town; and I flatter myself that my presence here will be the means of preventing much disturbance from arising. I have etc."

The royal body was interred with due solemnity at Gulab-bagh. But this solemnity was much marred by the indecent haste and impatience which Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah displayed to take his seat on the vacant *Musnad*, even before the funeral obsequies of his royal father were finished—a fact which will ever remain a blot on Asaf-ud-Daulah's character.

BASANTA KUMAR BASU,

Imperial Record Dept.,

Calcutta.

Bengali influence in Arakan.

THE history of Arakan has, from time immemorial, been closely connected with that of Northern India and specially that of Bengal. The term 'Magh' by which the people of Bengal designate the Arakanese is believed to have been derived from Magadh (Southern Bihar) which, in all probability, furnished a dynasty of rulers to Arakan in the dim past. In the Bengali literature of Arakan (to which reference will be made) the town 'Magadhi' is found used in the sense of 'Arakanese.'

It is hardly necessary to dwell here on the various legendary Indian dynasties which, according to the chronicles of Arakan, came to and reigned in that tract in the pre-historic age. In the 8th century A.D., we come across a ruling family with the surname 'Chandra.' Sir Arthur P. Phayre in his History of Burma remarks. "It appears probable that they held Brahminical doctrines" and again "they appear to have been foreigners and it is probable that they were connected with the dynasty which reigned in Eastern Bengal known as the Sen Rajas and that the period of their rule in Arakan has been antedated." As a matter of fact, there were one or more ruling families in Eastern Bengal bearing the surname "Chandra" before the rise of the Sen kings and there is no reason to connect the Chandras of Arakan with the Sens of Bengal or to hold that the reign of the Arakanese Chandras has been antedated. In a copper plate discovered in the Faridpur district and attributed to the 6th century A.D. we have mention of a king named Gopachandra. (1) To what family he belonged has not yet been ascertained, though various conjectures have been made. Then we have, in ballads and songs still extant in some parts of Bengal, pathetic accounts of a king named Gopichandra who renounced the world and became an ascetic in the prime of youth under the influence of his mother Mynamati. In connection with his ancestry we get the names Manik Chandra, Suvarna Chandra and Dhari Chandra. Gopi Chandra flourished probably in the 11th century A.D., if not earlier and had his main capital in the Lalmai Mynamati range of hills in the district of Tipperah. (2) In the districts of Faridpur and Dacca some copperplates of a king named Srichandra have been discovered (3) and we get from them that Troilokya Chandra, Suvarna Chandra and Purna Chandra were his forefathers and that his family originally belonged to Rohitagin, which has been identified by Mr. N. K. Bhattachasali—in my opinion correctly—with the Lalmai range. There are still remains and traditions of an old Capital here, and Hindu and Buddhist images, some of them inscribed with names of persons bearing the Surname

* *Vide Phayer's History of Burma*, 1883, p. 47.

(1) *The Indian Antiquary*, 1910.

(2) *Vide* the writer's Introduction to Gopichander 'Gan',—Calcutta University Edition.

(3) *Epigr. Indica*, Vol. XLL, Dacca Review, 1912, 1919, etc.

Chandra, have been found in and near the place. (4) The Late Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur gathered from Thibetan records that Gopichandra had his Capital at Chittagong. (5) There is every reason to hold that the Chandras of Tipperah and Chittagong were connected with those of the neighbouring country of Arakan. They were known as belonging to the Pattikera Raj family. (6) Even in the history of Burma proper, we hear of the amorous adventures of a scion of that family in the Burmese Capital. It is said that the adventurer, unable to get his love for the Burmese princess sanctified by marriage, committed suicide. The ruins of the old Capital of Arakan—Wesali—show Hindu statues and inscriptions of the 8th century A.D. The figure of the sacred bull of Shiva is there. Although the Chandras usually held Buddhistic doctrines, there is reason to believe that Brahmanism and Buddhism flourished side by side in the Capital. The rule of the kings is believed to have often extended as far as Chittagong—Wesali in fact has been described as an "Easterly Hindu Kingdom of Bengal." It was a flourishing kingdom, and the coins were of good silver on which Nandi the attendant of Shiva and his sacred bull were in evidence.

It has been said that the Chandra dynasty "came to an end in 957 A.D., being overwhelmed by a Mongolian invasion." (7) This is not correct though from this time onward Hindu influence appears to have waned and that of the Easterly savages increased. An examination of the geneology of the Arakanese kings will show that the reign of the Chandra family lasted, with occasional interruptions, till 1710 A.D. when a usurper came to the throne: It was during the reign of this family that the connection of Arakan with Bengal became close though not always happy. Though the dynasty appears to have been Bengali in origin, it became, in course of time, thoroughly Arakanese by inter mixture of blood and adoption of local manners. It was only in the adoption of sanskritised names that the Indian connection became now and then apparent.

Early in the 15th century king Meng Soamwun, driven by a foreign invasion, took refuge in the court of the Mahomedan king in Bengal. Soamwun had to spend a good portion of his life in Bengal and when, at last, he was restored to his throne, it was with the help of a Bengal army. (8) The year of this restoration is stated to be 1430 A.D. In Phayer's History of Burma it is stated that the king of Bengal who undertook to restore Meng Soamwun was Nazir Shah. Harvey is silent as to the name of the king while Mr. M. S. Collis (9) in his article in the Journal of the Burma Research Society (Vol. XV) gives Naziruddin Shah as the name. I have been unable to verify the particulars of this excursion from the historical records of

(4) Articles in the Vernacular Magazine, *Itihas and Alochana*, 1328 and 1329 B.S. may be referred to in this connection.

(5) J. A. S. B., Voy. LXVII, Part I, No. 2.

(6) *Vide* Account of Ranavanta Mella's inscription in Colebrooke's Essays.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) Phayer's History of Burma, p. 78; Harvey's History of Burma (1952), p. 139.

(9) Mr. Collis in the Journal of the Burmah Research Society, Vol. XV.

Bengal but numismatic evidence has shattered the old theory that Nasiruddin Mohammad Shah was king of Bengal in 1430 A.D. It would appear that Ghiasuddin Azam Shah ruled Bengal in 1406 when the Arakanese king fled to Gour and Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah (son of the Hindu King Ganes) in 1430. Thus, the royal exile from Arakan came across both Hindu and Mahomedan influences in the court of Gour and spent his days there in rather troublous times. As the Mahomedan influence was predominant, the Arakanese kings though Buddhist in religion, became somewhat Mahomedanised in their ideas—so much so that for a long time henceforward they used, in addition to their own earlier names, Mahomedan designations and even issued medallions bearing the *kalima* in the Persian script. Soamwun remained in a state of subordinate alliance with Bengal but his brother and successor seems to have thrown off the Mahomedan yoke and the latter's son proceeded further and captured Chittagong.

In the Archaeological survey report of Burma (10) the coins of Arakan from 1430 to 1784 A.D. are divided into three groups—(1) those of 1430—1531 A.D. when the Arakanese kings from Min Saw Mwan to Thazada were subject to Bengal, (2) those of 1531 to 1638 when they were lords paramount of the Eastern portion of that province and (3) those of 1638—1784 A.D. when they had lost their influence in Eastern Bengal. This classification does not appear to be quite accurate, for we read in history that the Arakanese king Basapyn occupied Chittagong in 1459 and we know that since then it was ordinarily in Arakanese hand till 1666. The influence of Bengal is, however, apparent till 1638 from the Mahomedan names and Persian and Nagri characters on the coins.

The eyes of the Arakanese kings were not cast on Bengal for the first time after the return of Soamwun from his exile. Long before this incident—even during the Hindu regime—we hear of Burmese incursions into the heart of the Dacca District. It is stated in a local history of Pargana Bhawal that in the 10th century (or possibly in the 11th), when the Pals ruled the greater part of Bengal, one Bhanudatta, brother of Chakrapani Datta, the famous author of a standard medical book, was appointed generalissimo of the Eastern Bengal army to repel the Maghs and his "alleged descendants still adhere to certain rites distinctly Buddhist in nature." Bhanu Datta, it is said had a large flotilla of swift boats under his command and these were very useful in his successful expedition.

The Maghs frequently came into collision with the Tipperah Raj and very often dominated, besides Chittagong, part of Tipperah and the southern parts of the districts of Noakhali and Bakarganj. At one time they temporarily occupied the city of Dacca, Chittagong was to all intents and purposes for a long time part and parcel of Arakan until the vigorous administration of Shaista Khan, Governor of Bengal, put an end to the Arakanese rule there in 1666. Parts of Dacca, Bakarganj and other neighbouring districts were frequently plundered by the Maghs and the Bengal Coast

(10) For the year ending 31st March, 1925.

was laid waste. King Thiri Thudamma plundered the country to the very gates of Dacca. The Maghs often penetrated inland and, as the result of their contract, many a Hindu family remains polluted to the present day, (11)

When King Soamwun regained his throne with the help of the Mahomedan King of Bengal, enterprising Mahomedans made their way to the Arakanese Court and had their influence felt there. A mosque was built at Mrohaung and the court was modelled on Gour and Delhi, eunuchs and slaves taking their place as in a Mahomedan Capital. The subsequent occupation of a part of Bengal by the Burmese King was, there is reason to suppose, partly at least due to the intrigue and assistance of the King's Moslem Counsellors. We hear of Mahomedan soldiers and ministers at the Arakanese Capital and even intermarriage with the Royal family. These soldiers and ministers bestowed their patronage on Mahomedan poets who wrote elegant Bengali verse in Persian character. The names of Daulat Kazi and Syed Al-dwal deserve special mention. Daulat Kazi, started a poetical work during the reign of Thiri Thudamma (1622-1638 A.D.), a detailed account of whose court has been left to us by a Portuguese missionary—Fra Manzique. The king, though a staunch Buddhist, was liberal in his treatment of foreigners and his bodyguard consisted of Mahomedans, Japanese and European soldiers besides Arakanese proper. A curious story is told of the influence of a Mahomedan Haji who, in order to prolong the life of the King, got him to procure the hearts of 6,000 human beings, 4,000 cows and 2,000 pigeons with the help of the police and prepared an extract from these for the royal use. Manrique was an eye witness to this atrocious proceeding which took place with the sanction of a king not otherwise of a malevolent disposition. The Haji's efforts, it is added, proved futile. The King, through the machination of his treacherous ministry and faithless queen, had to die a premature death.

According to Daulat Kazi, whose Bengali was often highly polished and sanskritic, Mahomedans and Hindus of various castes thronged the Arakan Court. Syed Al-awal, who was a poet of a still higher order, finished the unfinished work of Daulat Kazi and wrote other poetical books in a style that would do credit to any scholarly Bengali of those days. Amongst his patrons are mentioned Suleman Magan Thakur, Majlis Guna Nabaraj, Syed Mohammed and Syed Musa. All these were exalted soldiers or grandees in the Arakanese court and appear to have been Bengali Mahomedans. Magan Thakur, though bearing a Hindu name, was a devout Mahomedan who, it is stated, strictly followed the precepts of the Koran. He married a Burmese princess and afterwards became the chief grandee of her court when this princess became the ruling queen or, as another version has it, the "chief queen" of Arakan. The version given in the printed editions of Al-awal's books being discrepant, it is not clear how she became the chief queen and what happened to her early marital relations. That

(11) The writer has in his possession a Bengali song relating to Magh tyranny which is sung even to this day in the neighbourhood of the Faridpur town.

she became the reigning sovereign of Arakan is not corroborated by any standard historical work.

Al-awal flourished during the long reign of King Chandra Thudamma, who held sway over a large slice of Bengal and in whose court the unfortunate prince Shah Shuja took shelter after his unsuccessful attempt to get hold of the Imperial throne of Delhi on the illness of his father the Emperor Shah Jehan. The true history of the death of this prince will, perhaps, never be known but there is no doubt that he tried to stir up a rebellion in his favour with the help of the large number of local Mahomedans in Arakan and thus brought retaliation on his head. The contemporary Mahomedan poet was, no doubt, in a position of peculiar difficulty when he wrote about the incident, but it is noteworthy that he extols the virtues of the king and states that Shah Shuja's tragic fate was due to his own fault. There was naturally a hunt for guilty Mahomedans after the rebellion and a co-religionist, inimically disposed towards our poet, got him imprisoned for sometime.

From what place Daulat Kazi came to Arakan is not known. Al-awal has left an account of his antecedents from which it appears that he went from Pargana Jalalpur in Sarkar Fatehabad—where good Brahmins and learned Mahomedans lived and through which the river Ganges flowed. On his way to Arakan he met Portuguese pirates and his father lost his life in a fight with them. He managed somehow to get into Arakan where Magan Thakur became his patron. Now, Jalalpur is even now a large *Pargana* lying mostly in the Faridpur district and from the poet's description of the place it appears most probable that he went from some part of what now constitutes that district. Most of his works, if not all, have been transliterated and published in Bengal but the transliteration is so faulty and the editions are so bad that many portion of the books are quite unintelligible.

One small corner of Bengal that obtained particular importance during the stormy days of the 17th century was the island of Sandip. It was the rendezvous of lawless bandittee of different nationalities and the frequent meeting place of Bengalis and Arakanese though not always on friendly missions. It was sometimes under the Arakanese king, sometimes under Kedar Roy of Vikrampur (one of the Semi-independent Magnates of the day) and sometimes under some Portuguese adventurer. Even the Raja of Bakla (Chandradwip in Bakerganj) had his part in deciding the fate of this island-home of adventurers. The Portuguese pirate Chief Gonzales is well-known in the annals of Bengal. In treachery and ferocity he has hardly had any rival even amongst his class. He sometimes befriended the Arakanese King, sometimes one or other of his opponents and for a long time was virtually the independent rule of Sandip. He is not heard of after the Capture of that island and massacre of its inhabitants by the Arakanese King Men Kha Maing early in the seventeenth century, but the inter communication of Bengalis and Arakanese in that quarter continued.

The oppression of the Arakanese pirates has become proverbial in Bengal. Plunder, torture and enslavement "were but the milder forms of that oppression. The expression Magh-rule' has become synonymous with 'misrule'. It is however hardly remembered that that rule had a bright side also in the patronage of letters and general toleration in the capital and that the dynasty under which Southern Bengal suffered such untold miseries appears to have been essentially a Bengali dynasty.

BISVESUAR BHATTACHARYA.

Zinat-un-Nisa.

(Daughter of Nawab Murshid Quli Khan).

MURSHID QULI—better known to history as Nawab Jafar Khan—was a Brahman converted to Muhammadanism. In 1701 the Emperor Aurangzib raised him to the post of Diwan (or financial minister) of Bengal. He was first stationed at Dacca, then the capital of Bengal, but there he quarrelled with the Governor—Prince Azim-ush-shan, and removed his revenue office in 1707 to the village of Maqsudabad. He changed the name of the place to Murshidabad in honour of himself, and this city became the capital of Bengal for half the 18th century. With the disappearance of Aurangzib from the scene the Mughal Empire began to decline very rapidly, and Murshid Quli became the independent ruler of Bengal (1713). Under his prudent management Bengal rose to the highest degree of prosperity.

Murshid Quli had an only daughter named Zinat-un-nisa.* When he was holding minor offices in the Deccan he had given her in marriage to Shuja Khan, one of the principal men in the city of Burhanpur, and, by origin, a Turk of the Afshar clan. Shuja continued to live with his father-in-law as a member of his family. This union no doubt became a source of preferment to him, as Murshid Quli, shortly after his own appointment as Diwan of Bengal, procured for him the Subahdari of Orissa. But Shuja soon became involved in differences with his father-in-law and found life at the Court of Murshid Quli unpleasant. He, therefore, installed himself in Orissa, and personally inspected the affairs of his government.

Though a lover of justice, kind, and popular with his subjects, Shuja had a very great weakness for women. Zinat-un-nisa, with all her virtues, failed to reclaim him. This, added to his hostile attitude towards her father, alienated her heart from her husband. She left him and, with her son Sarfaraz took up her residence in the city of Murshidabad, where she lived in great splendour and would probably have continued long in the enjoyment of her wealth had not a man appeared on the scene to overturn her family.

In the beginning of Muhammad Shah's reign (*circa* 1720) an adventurer named Mirza Muhammad presented himself at the Court of Shuja Khan. Driven onward by abject poverty he came to Orissa to try his luck. His wife, being of the Afshar tribe, was in some way related to Shuja Khan, who was glad to oblige a relation by taking him into his service. Mirza Muhammad had two sons—Haji Ahmad and Aliwardi who, being

* In the *Mutaqherin* Zinat-un-nisa appears to have also another name *Nafisa*, but according to the *Riyaz-us-salatin* (p. 322) *Nafisa* was Sarfaraz's sister.

men of ability, soon attracted the notice of Shuja Khan. Bold and energetic, Aliwardi combined military genius with the political abilities of his brother and was promoted to the highest offices in rapid succession. In fact, both the brothers were instrumental in securing Shuja Khan's rise to the *masnad* after Murshid Quli's death.

Murshid Quli, displeased with Shuja Khan and now feeling the approach of death, formed the desire of raising his grandson Sarfaraz to the throne, and accordingly wrote to his agents at the Court of Delhi to secure his sovereign's sanction. Shuja, hearing of this project, took counsel with Haji Ahmad and Aliwardi, and immediately despatched an envoy to the capital with the object of securing the patents of Diwan and Nazim for the provinces of Bengal and Orissa in his own name. Then, hearing that his father-in-law was on his death-bed, Shuja Khan set out from Cuttack in hot haste during the rains, accompanied by Aliwardi and at the head of a considerable force. On the way to Murshidabad, he got intelligence of the old Nawab's death (1725) and a few days later, while yet on the march, he received the necessary patents from Delhi. Having arrived at Murshidabad, he made an entry into the *Chehel-setun* (Hall of Forty Pillars) where he proclaimed himself the lawful Subahdar of Bengal and Orissa.

Sarfaraz Khan, who was living with his mother, Zinat-un-nisa, in a country-seat about a couple of miles outside the city, wanted to oppose his father, but Zinat being a woman of remarkable prudence and sagacity and greatly loved and respected by Sarfaraz, dissuaded him. She represented to him that his father—an old man—could not long keep him out of the throne, so that he ought to be satisfied, for the time being, with the Diwanship of Bengal, and not to be guilty of the horrid impiety of taking up arms against his father. These arguments prevailed with him so well, that he immediately advanced to kiss the feet of his father. Shuja then paid his wife a visit and expressed his regret for the wrong he had done her. Zinat-un-nisa forgave him.

At this time the province of Bihar was annexed to the viceroyalty of Bengal, and Shuja thought of sending a suitable deputy there. He wanted to appoint one of his two sons there. But Zinat-un-nisa would not part with her son, Sarfaraz, nor would she approve of the appointment of Taqi Khan, her stepson. At last the choice fell on Aliwardi Khan (1729). Zinat-un-nisa seems to have insisted on her being recognized as the sole and real heiress to the Government and the estate of Jafar Khan, and her husband being regarded rather as the viceroy-consort than viceroy in his own right. "She sent for Aliwardi to the gate of her apartment, and having ordered a rich *khilat* to be put upon his shoulders, she conferred upon him the Government of Bihar, as from herself." (*Mutaqherin*, i. 282). After this investiture, Aliwardi was presented by Shuja Khan on his part with the *khilat* of the deputy governorship of Patna. Aliwardi received on this occasion the title of *Mahabat Jang Bahadur*.

The mild and peaceful government of Shuja Khan terminated in 1739. He left two dangerous enemies to his son and successor Sarfaraz in the

persons of Aliwardi and Haji Ahmad. In 1736 Haji Ahmad had secretly obtained from the Emperor of Delhi a farman empowering Aliwardi to hold the government of Bihar independently of the viceroy of Bengal. The affair could not, however, be kept a secret very long, but Shuja Khan had no time to counteract this move before his death. Both the brothers had, owing to their influence, created a host of enemies at the Court with whose help Sarfaraz could have checked their growing ambition, had he not rendered himself odious to all by his unbridled licentiousness. One day he became impatient to have a sight of the exquisite beauty of the daughter-in-law of Jagat Seth, and forced her from his house. This was a direct blow to the family honour of the greatest banker in Bengal, and the crafty Haji joined the mortified Seth in a conspiracy to get rid of the debauched Nawab.

The plan was ready. But so long as the Haji remained at Murshidabad Aliwardi could not throw off the mask. The foolish Nawab was, therefore, cleverly induced by the conspirators to dismiss Haji Ahmad from his Court, who with half-concealed joy proceeded to Patna to join his brother. Aliwardi immediately set out on a march to Murshidabad, craftily writing to the Nawab that "he was oppressed with grief to find he had so many enemies at Court, who, by their misrepresentations, had persuaded him to disgrace his brother; that he was coming to fling himself at his feet, and prove himself his loyal servant." (Scrafton, p. 37). The Nawab's suspicion of Aliwardi's motive was lulled by the traitors in his Court, and he was roused from his slumber only to find Aliwardi knocking at the gates of his capital. He had at least personal courage and would not give way to the rebels. He opposed the invader at Gheria and fell on the field, being the only Nawab of Bengal to die a soldier's death.

Two days after this sanguinary battle, Aliwardi entered the city of Murshidabad with great pomp and magnificence. Before taking his seat on the *masnad*, he went to the house of Zinat-un-nisa, bowed down his head before the Princess and, after supplicating her forgiveness, addressed her in deep emotion, "What was written in the books of Fate has now come to pass, and the ingratitude of this worthless servant of yours will ever remain a blot on the pages of his history. But I swear that up to the last moment of my life I shall never fail to show respect to you. I hope that the perfidy of this slave will in time be obliterated from the mirror of your forgiving mind, and that you shall at a distant date at least condescend to accept, in extenuation of my misdeed, the marks of perfect submission and dutiful attachment which I am resolved to display."

But Zinat-un-nisa, overpowered with grief at the loss of her son, made no response to this speech. (*Mutaqherin*, i. 340).

Aliwardi ascended the throne of Murshidabad. He had given his three daughters—Ghasiti, Maimana and Amina—in marriage to Nawazish Muhammad, Sayyid Ahmad and Zain-un-din Ahmad—the three sons of his eldest brother, and they were now given the governorship of three different provinces in his kingdom.

Nawazish Muhammad, the Governor of Dacca, persuaded Zinat-un-nisa to remove herself to his palace and to be adopted as his mother. He vested her with the absolute control over his whole household, and her orders were carried out without reference to Nawazish. But she never appeared before him without a veil or a curtain intervening between them, even while rendering account.

Zinat-un-nisa adopted Aga Baba, the son of a concubine of Sarfaraz Khan, born on the very day the latter was slain. This boy became the darling of her heart and the consolation of her old age. She proposed to marry him to one of the daughters of Sayyid Ahmad, to whom she sent a message by Ghasiti Bibi herself. Sayyid Ahmad at first declined the proposal, but at the importunities of Nawazish Ahmad and his wife, he had to give his consent at last.

Both Nawazish and his consort Ghasiti paid Zinat the utmost deference, and vied with each other in soothing her by every mark of respect and attention.

"She likewise conserved the *khas-taluq*, or personal demesnes of Jafar Khan, her father, (a tract of ground that yielded a large revenue) with every land or house that had been bought by that Prince in his private capacity. To these Nawazish Muhammad Khan never offered to touch, and she continued to enjoy them totally, being to the very last used with the utmost respect and deference both by him and by Aliwardi Khan himself, neither of whom ever approached her without a profound bow, or ever offered to sit in her presence, without being bid." (*Mutaqherin*, i. 356).

History is silent as to how long she lived, but the remains of a masjid, erected by her at Azimnagar, about half a mile to the north of the Murshidabad Palace, still exist, and in the vicinity of the ruins it is said, the royal lady was buried:

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

The Indian Historical Records Commission.

NINTH SESSION AT LUCKNOW.

IT has been my privilege to furnish the readers of "Bengal: Past and Present," with summaries of the proceedings of the last eight sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Continuing the practice I propose to give in the present article a brief account of its ninth annual meeting, which was held at Lucknow in December last. Lucknow is a place unique among the cities of India. It has a brilliant history of the past being at one time the capital of the Nawabs of Oudh; and still claims to be the intellectual capital of Muslim India. Rich in historical traditions, teeming with interesting relics of the early British period and bearing scenes of thrilling episodes of the Mutiny days, Lucknow was eminently a fit place for the annual gathering of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

The meeting of the Commission was held at the Kaisar Bagh Baradari on the 16th December 1926, and owing to the unavoidable absence of Mr. H. G. Dennehey, I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, the presidential chair was occupied by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, one of the senior members of the Commission. His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces was also unable to open the proceedings of the Commission, but he was pleased to send a message of welcome which was read by the Hon'ble Rai Rajeswar Bali, Minister of Education, United Provinces. In this message His Excellency regretted his unavoidable absence. After welcoming the Commission to the city of Lucknow he showed that the United Provinces were enormously rich in historical memories. These Provinces had witnessed many of the processes of invasion, conquest, settlement, discord, anarchy, re-integration—which go to mature and to enrich the thought and character of a people. But some of these processes were far from favourable either to the preparation or preservation of an orderly or even a continuous record of events and consequently much valuable material had perished. His Excellency then dwelt on the nature of the records in the United Provinces. The earliest English records housed in the United Provinces date back to the last quarter of the eighteenth century when the Province of Benares was transferred by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh to the East India Company. The selections from these records together with other interesting notes relating to customs and trade were made by Mr. Shakespeare, Commissioner of the Benares Division, which were printed about fifty years ago. For the Mutiny period printed narratives are available and the Oudh records contain a wealth of interesting

materials regarding the pacification of that Province. Beyond, however, the printed proceedings the Secretariat records contain a few old papers owing to the disastrous losses by fire which occurred about forty years ago. The vernacular records were mostly destroyed during the Mutiny. The research scholars of the United Provinces, have, therefore, to labour under considerable disadvantage. For the surviving records relating to the United Provinces they have to search the archives of the Government of India or the Government of Bengal or the High Court of Fort William at Calcutta. In the matter of progress in the publication of historical records the United Provinces Government could not boast that they had been in the van. Still something has been done during the last six years to arrange and classify the older records. Mr. Dewar's Handbook of "English Pre-Mutiny Records" in the Government Record rooms in the United Provinces is very well-known. Old Oudh records from 1858-1890 have also been arranged. As regards the creation of a separate record room in charge of a competent Keeper, the Government would be glad to put the proposal in practice but have to wait for better times and a richer treasury.

On behalf of the Commission Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, thanked the Governor for his kind message of welcome. He referred to the loss sustained by the Commission in the departure to England of Sir Evan Cotton, who made an ideal President of the Commission for the last four sessions and mourned the death of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara, who made it his life's task to collect the materials of Maratha history. The Commission's aim was, the Professor said, to attract younger workers to the field of historical research and he was pleased to notice the growing public interest in the work of the Commission from year to year.

The present session was attended by the representatives from the Indian States of Hyderabad, Baroda, Rampur and Benares and also from the French Government of Pondicherry and a paper was also received from the extreme west coast of India. It was from a Portuguese subject, who embodied in it the result of his researches among the Portuguese archives of Goa which throw much light on Maratha history. Brief summaries of the papers read are here given.

Sir Evan Cotton sent a paper from England on "Benoit de Boigne" the famous soldier of fortune and the right hand man of Madhoji Scindhia. De Boigne was born at Chambéry once the capital of the Dukes of Savoy in 1751. After many adventures he arrived at Lucknow in the early part of 1783. In 1784 he entered the service of Madhoji Scindhia and soon rose to the height of his fame as a great general. He reorganised and enlarged Scindhia's army, by the help of which Scindhia became the sole master of the Mahratta acquisitions in Hindusthan. Madhoji died in February 12, 1794. De Boigne remained faithful to his nephew and successor, Daulat Rao Scindhia, but his health had begun to fail and he returned to England in 1797. After a few years he retired to Chambéry where he lived till his death in 1830. From India he brought a large fortune (£400,000),

and he showered benefactions upon his native town, building and endowing two hospitals, a lunatic asylum, a trade institute for girls, an alms house, a college and a public library. He received both French and Sardinian honours and was created a Count in 1815 by Victor Emanuel of Sardinia. The *Fontaine des Elephants* at Chambéry, which was erected in 1838 by the people of the place, commemorates its connection with Benoit de Boigne.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar in his paper on the Maratha Family records noted the discovery so far of eight chronicles or Shakavalis owned by the private families of Maharashtra. Each well-to-do family in the Deccan maintained a chronicle recording the succession and death of kings and other events of public importance under their exact dates year by year. Professor Sarkar critically examined the importance of the chronicles which furnish valuable materials for the political history of the early Marahatta period. Of these chronicles the Shakavali of the Jedhi family of Deshmukhs or landlords is the most important and the future historian of Shivaji and his sons is bound to make the fullest use of this book, of course, after examining its statements in the light of other contemporary sources in the Persian, English, Portuguese and French languages.

Mr. J. J. Cotton, Curator of the Madras Record Office in his paper gave a fascinating description of the court of Lucknow and a highly interesting account of the life and character of the European favourites of King Nasir-uddin Haidar, especially the barber. The latter, who came to India first as a cabin boy, acquired enormous influence and wealth at the court of the king and was more powerful than the Chief Ministers of State. The barber, however, at last fell from favour and fled from Oudh, carrying away with him, it is said, no less than 24 lakhs of rupees. An extraordinary feature of the friendship was that it was *per force* almost silent, since the king knew no more than a dozen words of English, and the barber's knowledge of the vernacular was equally limited.

Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, of Poona, gave an interesting account of the European tombs and graveyards of the seventeenth century in Western India. The Surat Factory being the head-quarters of the East India Company from 1613-87, the graveyard at Surat is the most remarkable of all the European cemeteries in Western India containing monuments which are of unique historical interest. In those days 'portentious masses of masonry' found favour as suitable memorials to the dead, on the analogy of the mausoleums erected by the Kings, Viceroys and Nawabs of the Moghul empire. It appears that at the time infant mortality was terribly high, not one child in twenty surviving infancy and the cause of death was, as a rule spasmodic cholera. Even for the adult European population the climate was severe in the extreme and two monsoon were the utmost one could endure. If a man were rash enough to venture a third it nearly always proved fatal.

The paper which was read by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan of the Allahabad University threw a flood of new light on the state of Mughal India in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It is based on the notes an observations on the East India' by John Marshall who came to India as a

Factor under the East India Company in September 1668 and served in the different Factories at Madras and Bengal till his death at Balasore on 12 September 1772. In the manuscripts which he left he described the countries and towns through which he had to pass and also recorded information on various subjects which he gathered from observation or from hearsay.

Mr. J. C. Sinha gave an account of the trading business of the East India Company in Bengal in the days of Cornwallis. The new feature of the trade of those days was the import of English cotton manufactures which had later on far-reaching effects on the economic life of Bengal.

Professor C. S. Srinivasachari's paper gave many interesting information about the life and many sided activities of the famous Abbe Dubois the materials of which he obtained from the Baramahal records. The Abbe lived from many years in India, chiefly in Mysore in the latter part of the seventeenth and during the 1st quarter of the eighteenth century. He took a great interest in the affairs of the Indian people and his works such as "Manners and Customs of the Hindus and their religious ceremonies," etc., which have been translated, are highly valued even up to this day. He returned to France with a pension from the Company in June 1823.

Rev. Father H. Heras, M.A., S.J., reproduced in his paper in full the treaty of peace dated the 7th June 1615, concluded between the emperor Jahangir and the Portuguese. He discovered this treaty in the Portuguese Government archives at Nova Goa. Jahangir at one time being offended with the Portuguese threatened to expel them from Indian soil, a design long entertained by his father Akbar in desire though never seriously contemplated. But all of a sudden hostilities ceased and no more acrimonious discussions between the two powers are recorded. This treaty now brought to light, elucidates the sudden change of policy on the part of the Mughal Emperor.

Prof. H. C. Sinha embodied in his paper the result of his researches among the records in the Imperial Record Department regarding the history of the first limited liability bank in India. In 1786 the leading merchants of Calcutta floated a bank under the name and style of the General Bank of India. The Bank was at first in a flourishing condition and received the recognition of the Government. It was voluntarily wound up on March 31, 1791.

Prof. K. R. Qanungo in his paper made a critical examination of the relation between Prince Dara and Mirza Rajah Jai Singh in the light of some original correspondence between them which are preserved in the records of the Jaipur Durbar. The noble prince reposed great confidence in the Rajah. He was entrusted with the sole command against Shuja. But the Rajah's dilatory policy, his attempt to out-manoeuvre Shuja instead of inflicting a decisive blow at the enemy and his correspondence with Aurangzib after the defeat of Yesobant Singh Rathor and finally the easy transfer of his services to the latter, prove that the Rajah's conduct towards Dara was not above suspicion.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth's paper gave an interesting account about the establishment of a Hindu colony at Armenia as far back as 149 B.C. The Hindus lived in prosperity in the colony till the advent of Christianity about 301 A.D. when they were either killed or forced to adopt the new faith by their Armenian confreres.

Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji in his paper gave a sketch of the life and work of Rajah Radhakanta Dev the author of the "Sabda-kalpadruma" and a great advocate of female education. He collected the materials of his paper from the records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

The paper of Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar was based on the records in the Portuguese Government archives at Nova Goa. The Portuguese always jealously watched the expansion of the Mughal power in the Deccan. They feared the neighbourhood of a mighty power and were ever on the alert to foment the southern kingdoms who were in alliance as against the Mughals. During the campaign of Shaista Khan and Jai Singh against Shivaji, the Portuguese Viceroys adopted the same old policy. While professing their neutrality to the Moghal generals they held secret correspondence with Shivaji and helped the latter with arms and ammunition.

My paper on "Shuja-ud-Daulah: Nawab Vazir of Oudh" was based on the records in the Imperial Record Department, and has already appeared in the pages of "Bengal: Past and Present."

The public meeting of the Commission was declared closed in the afternoon. The members of the Commission then proceeded to the Exhibition after having tea with me at the Baradari. The Exhibition which was organised in connection with the Lucknow session of the Commission was opened in the evening in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. The exhibits comprised historical records, sanads, farmans, maps, paintings, seals, coins and specimens of calligraphy. There was a number of interesting documents and paintings exhibited by the representatives of the Hyderabad and Benares States. The Exhibition proved a great success, and in response to numerous requests from the press and the public it was kept open till the evening of the 19th December. On the morning of the 17th December the members of the Commission visited the Lucknow Residency. At 11 a.m. on the same day the Members' Meeting was held in the library of the Council House at Kaisarbagh. In the afternoon the members of the Commission were shown various places of interest in the city and its suburbs through the kindness of Mr. C. W. Gwynne, Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow. In the evening they were entertained at a Garden party at Husainabad by the Trustees of the Imambarah. On the morning of the 18th December the members of the Commission inspected the Lucknow Museum.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

Our Library Table.

The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India : 1615-1619 : as narrated in his journal and correspondence : Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. (Oxford University Press : Eighteen Shillings net : India Paper, Twenty One Shillings net.)

IN the year 1817 a certain clergyman, the Rev. J. Coltman of Beverley Minster, presented to the British Museum, a thick volume of some 288 folios, written in a neat clerkly hand, and in excellent preservation. This was none other than the first volume of the manuscript of the journal kept by Sir Thomas Roe ambassador from King James the First to the Court of the Great Mogul. It had been missing since the year 1704, when the editor of Churchill's *Voyages* republished it "with considerable additions . . . taken from Sir Thomas Roe's own original manuscript." An earlier version had appeared in 1622, when the Rev. Samuel Purchas, in search of material for his *Hakluytus Postumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, obtained leave from the East India Company to use their collection of logs, and especially Roe's journal. But Purchas could find nothing later than January 22, 1618: "neither with the Honourable Company nor elsewhere could he learne of" the remainder. The edition of 1704 goes no further than Purchas. The second volume is therefore lost: and the Rev. Mr. Coltman did not disclose how he came to be in possession of his copy of the first. Of the three sections which formed part of the Company's records when Purchas transcribed them, the first found its way to the British Museum by purchase in 1852: the second has disappeared, but reference to it is made in "a catalogue of damaged papers" compiled in 1822 and preserved at the India office: and the third has also vanished.

Thus it is to Purchas and the secretive Coltman that posterity owes the preservation of Roe's journal. Sir William Foster has for the first time reprinted the whole text of the Coltman manuscript in the British Museum: and for the remainder of Roe's stay in India, he has made use of his letters and scraps of information from contemporary documents. The work was originally done for the Hakluyt Society in 1899: but the book has been for many years out of print, and the present edition has received careful revision.

Few episodes in the early history of the British in India have captured the popular imagination more completely than this embassy of Sir Thomas to the Court of Jahangir: it is to form the subject of a fresco by Mr. W. Rothenstein for St. Stephens Hall at Westminster: and rightly so, for, as Stow puts it in his *Annals*. "Roe" is the first that ever was employed in this HIE nature to any of those so farre remote easterne princes." Previous

emissaries had been merchants such as John Mildenhall, William Hawkins, Paul Canning, and William Edwards: and the despatch of an envoy of high official status appeared to be the only satisfactory method of overcoming the many difficulties occasioned by the Portuguese claim to a monopoly of the Indian sea-borne trade. Roe accordingly embarked with fifteen followers on the *Lion* at Tilbury Hope on February 2, 1615, and after touching at the Cape, the Comoro Islands and Socotra, cast anchor on September 18, in Swally Road, a few miles north of the mouth of the river Tapti whence he proceeded to Surat. His journey to Ajmere, where he arrived on December 23, 1616, occupied nearly two months, and was attended with much discomfort, for he was attacked by fever at Burhanpur and lay ill for a whole week after reaching the court: It was not until January 10, 1616, that he was able to present himself at the Durbar. In the beginning of November, Jahangir left Ajmere in the "Frank carriage" which he had had made in imitation of the "caroche" sent to him by King James, and, hunting as he were, made his way to Mandu, the site of the old capital of Malwa, where he remained from March until October, 1617. Roe followed him, and notes that "the king gave order to fire all the Leskar (camp) at Adsmere to compell the people to follow, which was dayly executed. . . the towne was burnd and desolate." So thoroughly were the orders carried out that Peter Mundy in 1633 saw at Ajmere "many ruinated buildings formerly belonging to the Amrawes (Umara) in Jehanguerr's tyme." Towards the end of October 1617, Jahangir proceeded towards Ahmedabad, in Gujarat, where Roe arrived before him. Here the Emperor stayed until February 1618 when he started for Mandu, on his way to Agra: but changed his mind and returned to Ahmedabad before Roe could come up with him at Mandu.

At length, the ambassador grew "infinitely weary of this unprofitable employment," and in September 1618, took his departure for Surat, where he embarked in the *Anne* on February 17, 1619, and arrived at Plymouth towards the end of August. He had failed to obtain the formal treaty which was the object of his mission, but secured considerable concessions, including a firman from the Emperor "for our reception and continuation in his domynnyon," and another firman with special relation to Surat from Prince Khurram (Shah Jehan) who was Viceroy of Gujarat. As Sir William Foster says, he had stemmed the tide of reaction. Henceforth "the provincial authorities were restrained from acts of oppression by fear of representations at headquarters" and, by the time Roe left India, all danger from the Portuguese appeared to have passed away. The picture presented of Jahangir is not an attractive one. He was completely in the hands of his queen Nur Mahal (whom Roe unfortunately omitted at first to propitiate), her crafty and avaricious brother Asaf Khan, and the cold and calculating Khurram, who had married Asaf Khan's daughter. The degree of interest which the Emperor actually took in Roe and his mission is shown by the fact that he makes no direct mention of either the one or the other in his memoirs. Apart from his vivid sketches of the personalities at the Mogul Court, Roe gives a full account of current events, and he foresees

clearly enough " the tyme when all these kingdomes WIL be in combustion, although it was to be delayed until after the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Sir William Foster has provided a most admirable series of notes, and an introduction, which cannot be too warmly praised. By way of frontispiece, we have the portrait of Roe, which was acquired for the National Portrait Gallery in 1904. He is represented with the insignia of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, an office to which he was appointed in 1637. There is also a map of Roe's itinerary and views of his quarters at Burhanpur (" I had four chambers allotted to me in the Saralya [Sarai] like ovens, no bigger, round at the topp, made of brick in a wall syde ") his supposed lodging at Mandu, (" afaire court well walled, and in that a good church, one great tombe," or, as Terry his chaplain calls it, " one of those deserted mosques ") and of Ajmere and its fort gateway. As an appendix, Sir William Foster prints Roe's " geographical account of the Mogul's Territories," wherein " Bengala " figures as " a mightie kingdome enclosing the western SYD of the Bay on the north and wyndeth SOWTHERLY," with Ragmehhal [Rajmahal] and Dekaka [Dacca] as its " cheife cittyes)" and Port Grande [Chittagong] Piliptan (Pipli) and Satigam (Satgaon) among its " many havens."

The Great Chartered Companies : by David Hannay. (London, Williams and Norgate : Ten Shillings and Six Pence net).

There seems at first sight no greater anomaly than the spectacle of a company of merchants in the enjoyment of sovereign power. Commerce in these days does not demand the right to wage war and conclude treaties to control administration and to dispense justice. Nevertheless, it is a truism to say that the great Chartered Companies were the forerunners of the modern Colonial Empires, although it was not lust of conquest but desire for markets which marked the early stages of their history. The royal authority could not protect them in the regions to which they found their way: and they were left to protect themselves under cover of the royal charter. It was in the seventeenth century that these great associations reached their zenith: but we can trace the nucleus in the MAHONA, a body of twenty-nine joint holders in Fief, who administered the island of Chios for the Republic of Genoa until the year 1566, when the organization was suppressed by the Turks. During this period also, Italian and German and Antwerp bankers were financing the ships which the Portuguese sent out to Mozambique, Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, and Malacca. (Calicut on the Malabar Coast was not reached until 1598). In 1553 we come across the first English Chartered Company. " The Mysterie [Sc. Mastery] and companie of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places Unknowne." This was the Russian or Muscovy Company of later years: but the aim of the original promoters was to reach " Cathay " by the northern route. Its voyages were organized on the Spanish model.

A Capitan-General was in command, his ship was "the Admiral," and the chief of the supercargoes was the "Cape Merchant", a corruption of the word "cavo," or head. The experiment failed and in 1581 arose the "Turkey Company." In 1592 this was followed by the Levant Company, which was expressly authorized to trade with the "recently discovered" East Indies. It was in a sense, therefore, the parent of the East India Company: and there is, as a matter of fact, direct evidence of connexion. At one end of the first letter-book of the East India Company are a few entries relating to the business of the Levant Company. Those belonging to the new body begin at the other end. Moreover, the vocabulary of the Eastern Mediterranean can be detected in the early letters and journals. William Hawkins, who visited the court of Jehanghir in 1607, spoke Turkish. Persons of importance were addressed by the title of Signor, which certainly originated in the Levant: and this would be shortened to Sir (or, as the Venetians have it. Sior), which appellation has therefore as little to do with knighthood as Capitao Mor (or chief captain) has to do with a mythical Captain Moore.

Sir William Foster has made us familiar with the early voyages of the East India Company. Mr. Hannay takes us to other regions and tells the story of the Virginia Company, of which "Richard Hakluyt, Clarke" was an original member, and which received its letters patent in 1606: of the Western Company founded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges about the same time, which endeavoured to create a settlement on the KENNEBEC river in the State of Maine: of the great Netherlands "MAATSCHAPPIJ," which reached its apogee in 1619 under JAN PIETERSZOOM COEN and ousted the English from Java and the Spice Islands: of the unsuccessful Dutch "West India" Company, whose Capital at New Amsterdam is now New York: and, finally, of the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales. It is, he says, a monstrous perversion of the truth to assert that, if Duplex had not been left in the lurch by his Company, he would have conquered an Empire for France in India. The possession of such an Empire by a European nation depended upon its general power at sea: and France was hopelessly defeated at sea in the war of the Austrian Succession which lasted from 1742 to 1748. Duplex was simply "dancing in a net:" and his adventure could have only one result. Minor Corporations such as the French China Company, the Ostenders, and the Trieste Company, are not omitted from the survey: but their life was short and their influence always negligible.

Mr. Hannay deduces two lessons from his historical examination. The first is that a Chartered Company must be the offspring of a vigorous and expanding nationality, if it is to play a considerable part. The second is, that it must be entitled to act and speak lawfully for a government which lacks the means to exercise its authority in remote seas and lands. Charles the second handed over Bombay to the East India Company, because he was unable to administer it as a crown possession: and he abandoned Tangier (the other half of his Portuguese Queen's dowry) for the same reason. Modern developments leave no room for the Chartered Company: but

Mr. Hannay's book helps us to understand why the English and the Dutch merchant adventurers succeeded, and the French failed—until in recent times the whole weight of the State was placed behind the effort to establish a Colonial Empire.

Proceedings of the Committee Circuit: Vol. IV. Dacca: October 3, to November 28, 1772. (Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, Calcutta: Rupees Fifteen and Annas Eight.)

Warren Hastings assumed charge of the office of President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal on April 13, 1772: and three months later we find him writing that "the new government of the company consists of a confused heap of undigested materials, as wild as the chaos itself." Not least among the evils which demanded attention was the faulty and inadequate collection of revenue. The stages of reorganization and reform which culminated in the Permanent Settlement have been described by Mr. Ramsbotham in his recently-published book. In this volume of official documents, relating to the proceedings of the Committee of circuit at Dacca, we can trace the early attempts to settle the land revenue of that district on the spot. The three preceding volumes in this series (which cover the period between June 10 and September 17, 1772) are concerned with the committee's proceedings at Krishnagar and Cossimbazar.

The Committee of Circuit was composed of Philip Milner Dacres (the name father of Dacres Lane in Calcutta) as President, and James LAWRELL and John Graham as members. It arrived at Dacca on October 1, 1772, and proceeded at once to notify that the lands of the Dacca districts and those of Sylhet would be let in farm for the term of fifteen years, and to invite proposals specifying the annual rent for each pargana. It was "order'd that this Advertisement be translated into the Persian and Bengal Languages be affix'd to the Gates of the Factory and the Kallah and publish'd thro' the city by beat of Tom Tom." Nicholas Grueber was then Collector of Dacca, and William Makepeace Thackeray was in Sylhet "completing his enquiries into the state of the district as well in regard to its Revenues as the Chunam Investment made ther (sic) on Account of the Hon'ble Company." On October 10, 1772. Mr. Thackeray is informed that "we have reced your letter bearing Date the 25th ulto [and] upon the fullest consideration of the purposes which may be expected to be answer'd by the Appointment of a servant in Quallity of a Collector at Sylhet, we are of Opinion that such Appointment will be both eligible and proper. We have therefore nominated you to that Station and have recommended the Measure to the confirmation of the Presdt and Council." The letter of confirmation, which is signed by Warren Hastings, Sir Robert Barker (the Commander-in-Chief) William Aldersey and Thomas Lane, is dated October 27, and was received in Dacca on October 31. On October 13 the Council at Fort William (composed on this occasion of Hastings. Aldersey, Richard Barwell, James Harris and Henry Goodwin) advise the

Committee of Circuit that "we have this day formed ourselves into a new Board of Revenue consisting of the whole Members of our Council for conducting the Business of that Department at the Presidency." Calcutta thus takes the place of Moorshedabad as official capital. Proposals for farming the district of Sylhet are submitted by Thackeray on October 16, and these are adjudged to be "highly advantageous," inasmuch as they are tendered by inhabitants of the district and will produce at the close of the five years' lease "an increase of no less than Rs. 30,000 on an annual Revenue of Rs. 98,621." On October 24, an advertisement is issued for farming the Dacca salt mahals: These are five in number the fifth being at Decan Savagapore (Dakhin Shahbazzpur). A contract for transporting the company's *chunam* from Sylhet to Calcutta is concluded on November 24 with Mr. John Richardson (Sheriff of Calcutta in 1777-78). But communications are still unsafe. Messrs. Hugh Inglis and J. Brasier write from Calcutta at about the same time, to complain that their client Claud Russell has "suffered a very considerable loss by the robbery of a fleet of salt boats" on its way to Dacca in June or July of the preceding year. "It is from you Gentlemen alone that we can look for redress as the offending Party," a zemindar, "is too far out of the Reach of a Court of Justice for us to pursue them by a regular COARSE of Law." On November 27, the committee inform the Council at Fort William that they have "come to a Resolution of closing our proceedings at this place": and on the day following it is "Resolved that we proceed to-morrow to Rungpore to execute the further objects of our Circuit."

We shall look forward to the Rungpore volume of this deeply interesting series. The transcription of the documents is carefully done, but the absence of a short explanatory memorandum is noticeable. This is a defect which should be remedied.

EVAN COTTON.

The Late Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.A., F.C.S.

THE sudden death of Mr. Julian Cotton comes as a great shock to his friends and to his colleagues of the Calcutta Historical Society. It is not too much to say that his loss to *Bengal: Past and Present* is irreparable. Like his elder brother, Sir Evan Cotton, he was possessed of an encyclopaedic knowledge of the history of British India, and, on Sir Evan's retirement from India, he carried on successfully the notes and editorial comments in *Bengal: Past and Present*, enriching each issue with the prints of his learning and scholarship. His work as a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission was extremely valuable, and the papers that he contributed to the sessions of that body were some evidence of his wide learning in the later periods of the history of India. His genial and stimulating company will be sadly missed by his colleagues and friends, who were numerous, and the deepest sympathy will be felt with his widow and children.

Mr. Cotton was the fifth consecutive generation of his family to serve either the Company or the Crown in India. It is believed that this a record which no other British family can show. Commencing with Joseph Cotton who sailed to India in 1769, each succeeding generation of this distinguished family has sent a son to serve in India: the sixth and present generation is serving on the distaff side, as it were for Sir Evan Cotton's daughter married Mr. Parker of the Indian Civil Service. This is a total of practically 160 years unbroken service in India: *The Times* in its obituary notice of June 22nd draws attention to this fact and states that the late Mr. Cotton's list of inscriptions on tombs and monuments of historical interest in Madras "is a mine of information and has been frequently quoted as a primary authority."

Mr. Cotton was in his Oxford days a distinguished classical scholar, winning the Gainsford prize for Greek Prose and the Chancellor's prize for Latin Verse, the first distinction in particular being one of the most coveted honours in the Oxford Classical world. His friends had hoped that Mr. Cotton would long be spared to continue his useful and scholarly work: *Dis aliter visum est*, and we are left to deplore the loss of a high-minded gentleman who never shrank from his duty. *R.I.P.*

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

WE deeply regret to record the death at a Nursing Home in Madras on the 20th of June, of Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S., Curator of the Madras Record Office and Editor-in-Chief of the *Madras Gazetteer*. The Calcutta Historical Society loses in him a valuable member, *Bengal: Past*

and *Present* an erudite contributor and the Indian Historical Records Commission one of its most enthusiastic workers. We offer our heartfelt sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

We reproduce from the *Madras Mail* of June 20th, 1927, a memoir of the late Mr. J. J. Cotton.

“ Julian James Cotton was a son of Sir Henry Cotton of the Bengal Civil Service, and grandson of a member of the Madras Civil Service. His father was born at Kumbakonam and Cotton always regarded this Presidency as having a particular claim upon his affections. Thus it was his practice wherever he happened to be stationed, to make a special study of all topographical or historical features of interest. The Government were aware of this trait, and gave it scope, when Lord Curzon directed a Survey of the European Tombs in India, by putting Cotton in charge of the work in this Presidency. He undertook the task with enthusiasm, and has left a monograph upon inscriptions on European tombs of historical interest in Madras. It was also his habit when visiting the various cemeteries to write short accounts of the towns in which they lay; charming little essays in the neat prose style of which he was master. This was probably derived from his proficiency in classics. He was educated at Sherborne, and went up to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, with a scholarship. He competed for, but did not obtain the Hertford, the successful prize-winner being G. W. Stevens. Cotton was one of the first University candidates of the Indian Civil Service to come to this Presidency; the examination before his time having been taken upon leaving school, and not after doing the full University course.

Naturally the men of the latter system have closer ties with their Universities and Colleges, and Cotton was always conspicuous in his allegiance to Oxford and Corpus contributing all his life to the ‘*Pelican*’, the private magazine of his College.

He arrived in the Presidency in December, 1893, and was posted to Bellary; but within a year bad health necessitated his return to England, and at no time was he long enough in any one district or part of the Presidency, to be particularly identified with it. His services as a sub-divisional officer range from Vizagapatam to Tanjore and from Kistna to Salem. For some time he was in the Finance Department as Assistant Accountant-General, Calcutta. As District Judge he was chiefly connected with Masulipatam and Coimbatore for the former of which places he has a peculiar regard. Perhaps his most celebrated case was what is known as the Camera Murder at Coimbatore, the last murder trial in which Mr. Eardley Norton appeared for the defence in this Presidency. Cotton’s finding of guilty was reversed by the High Court, but his handling of the case was recognized as extremely able.

After recording the evidence in that prolonged trial Cotton suffered from writer’s cramp, and found his judicial duties increasingly irksome, so that it was a happy inspiration of Government’s to appoint him at the latter end of his service as a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, work

entirely after Cotton's own heart. No one had a more intimate knowledge of the annals of Anglo-India both in Madras and in Calcutta, and it is a matter for infinite regret that he has not survived to commit that knowledge to paper. The life of those old Indian days made a strong appeal to the romantic element in Cotton's nature; and there was nothing he enjoyed better than to disentangle the ramifications of ancient Anglo-Indian families and localities. He also had a strong sense of his hereditary connection with the Indian Civil Service, and no one was more loyal to its best traditions. Mr. and Mrs. Cotton will be gratefully remembered by many junior members of the service for kindnesses which they always bestowed whenever occasion offered.

It is hardly necessary to enlarge upon Cotton's literary activities to readers of the *Madras Mail*, for he has for several years been a regular contributor to our columns over his own name; contributions which always reflected his knowledge of this country, and one might say, his affectionate interest in all human concerns. For his was essentially an affectionate disposition, as shown very happily in his love for children with whom he had an admirable way.

We offer our sincere sympathy to his own children, and to Mrs. Cotton, none of whom are now in India.

By this sudden and lamentable death this Presidency loses not only a distinguished member of the Civil Service, but a citizen of Madras endowed with conspicuous talents."

Editor's Note Book.

IT seems almost impious to attempt to dethrone Hobson-Jobson from its pride of place, but there is an expression much earlier and older which has hitherto escaped the researcher. The Masulipatam Consultation Book for Thursday, 21st December, 1862, contains the following delightful entry.

"The Governor of this Towne Mauhmd: Alley Beague haveing occasion for 4 cases spiritts and two cheeses for his Master (being Jaicey Boicy time when they drinke much sherbett) and for himself two bales sugar, sent to the ffactory for the same. The Councill therefore think it Convenient and order that he be presented wth the same, being requisite to oblige him wth such things at this season of the year that our business may not meet wth any interruption and that in case an Interloper should come in, he may not have any pretence to favour him or his business."

In the Consultation for 31st the cost of "Presents to the Governour in 4 cases strong waters, 2 bales sugar and 2 cheeses" is debited per contra at 19 pagodas. Twenty years earlier the Governour of Masulipatam (1662) was "Foote la Bege" (Fathullah Beg) and the perversion of his name is equally worthy of record.

The expenditure of liquid refreshment at the Mohurram is referred to by Fryer in his account of the Mourning for Hosseen Gossen at Surate. "About this time the Moors celebrate the Exequies of Hosseen Gosseen, a time of ten days mourning for two Unfortunate champions of theirs, who perished by Thirst in the Deserts, fighting against the Christians; Wherefore every Corner of the Street is supplied with Jars of Water; and they run up and down like Furies in quest of these two Brethren, laying about them with Swords, Clubs and Staves, crying with that earnestness upon their Names in such Antick Dances as resemble the Pyrrhical Saltation, that a sober Man could make no other judgment on them, than that they were distracted. This is done through the Streets, where if two Companies encounter, they seldom part without bloody Noses, which occasion has been the cause why the Mogul has restrained it for the prevention of Outrages." Similarly in his account of the Suffees, a Warlike Order of Church Militants in Persia, he writes "In Shaw Abas the Great's time, on the days of their Feasts and Jubilees, Gladiators were approved and licensed, but feeling afterwards the Evils that attended the Liberty, which was chiefly used in their Hossey Gossy, any private Grudge being then openly revenged, it never was forbid, but it passed into an Edict by the following King That it should be lawful to kill any found with Naked Swords in that Solemnity."

Clearly these names all refer to the same thing, and Valentyn writing in 1726 gives a Dutch version which is still more curious. "They name

this mourning time in Arabic Ashur or the 10 days, but the Hollanders call it "Jacksom Baksom." The Portuguese variant is even odder; "and they sing around them Saucem Saucem." In Francis Edwards' Catalogue some 25 years ago was advertised a print of the celebration of "Huson Hawson" which would certainly have been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall, had it been in existence then. Even the veracious Orme referring to the famous defence of Arcot by Clive writes "It was the 14th of November, and the festival which commemorates the murder of the brothers Hassein and Jassein happened to fall out at that time." As he correctly spells the names Hassain Cawn and Hossan Ally Khan elsewhere it would almost seem that his manuscript was not correctly read.

MR. ARTHUR T. PRINGLE in editing the earliest Madras Records was beaten by another conundrum in the expression Moberdiness. In the year 1677 it was resolved to conciliate the "Mobordnys Sandapa at Golconda" by a gratuity of 150 pagodas sent through Sur Braminy Yeana Virago; and among the moneys to be sent or remitted by Bill of Exchange to our Egib at Gulcondah in the Fort St. George Consultations for Thursday 16th August, 1683 (present William Gyfford, Esqr., Agent and Governour, Mr. John Bigrig, Mr. Elihu Yale, Mr. John Nicks and Mr. John Littleton) the first entry is "To the Moberdinesses or Officers being the Annual Sallabad Charges Pagodas 30." We believe a Moberd to be no other than a Maha Bahadur. John III of Portugal in a Latin letter to Pope Paul III talks in 1536 of the most potent King Badur, the terror of the whole of India; and Fryer speaks of Seva Gi in two places as the Mau Raja or Arch Raja. If Maha Rajah can be corrupted in Mau Roger, the transition of Maha Bahadurnesses to Moberdinesses is easy. As conferred by the Court of Delhi the gradation of titles ascended from Bahadur to Bahadur Jung, Bahadur-ud-daulah and Bahadur-ul-Mulk. Thackeray has immortalised the Mahratta traitor in his Memoirs of Major Gahagan as Bobachee Bahadur, an Arch Roger of a different kidney, and Mr. Canning's malicious wit bestowed on Sir John Malcolm the title (not included, remarks Yule, in the Great Mogul's repertory) of Bahauder Jaw.

So much was heard during the War about the German obtaining animal fat by boiling down the bodies of the dead that the following extract from the East India Vade Mecum (1810) by Capt. Thomas Williamson may be of interest:

"No kind of animal oil is in use among the natives of India either as food or in manufactories; if indeed we except that most curious production, the "meemii-ke-tale," or oil extracted from the bodies of malefactors; who, being well fed for a month, or more, previous to execution, for the purpose of increasing their fat, have large fires lighted under them while on the gibbet, and metal vessels placed to receive the drippings. That this practice

has heretofore obtained, under the government of the native princes, does not I believe, admit of a doubt; but, that it is now obsolete, is equally certain. Still "*meemii-ke-tale* (i.e. human oil) may be had at many places; though not genuine, but composed of whatever materials may form a mass resembling that originally in use. I have seen several of these masses, which were of a dark, opaque brown, appearing something like coagulated blood mixed with dirty jelly, and become hard by exposure to the sun, or by inspissation: its smell was intolerably offensive. On the whole this celebrated extract, which is supposed to cure all contractions, and stiffness of the joints, is a subject of astonishment, when we consider it to be in use among a people so very peculiar in their tenets, and professing so much humanity, not only towards their brethren, but towards all animated nature. Had Shakespeare been acquainted with the existence of the *meemii* he certainly would have given it a place in Hecate's stir-about."

THE Madras Gazette of January 10th, 1795, announces: "Whole length mezzotinto engravings by Mr. Henry Hudson, at Calcutta, of the Marquis Cornwallis, Warren Hastings Esq., and Sir Eyre Coote. A proof print of the Marquis Cornwallis, from the picture in the Government House Calcutta and a damaged Print of Warren Hastings Esq., from a picture in the possession of C. Chapman Esq., Calcutta, both painted by Mr. A. W. Devis, are arrived and are to be seen in the Exchange Room. Mr. Hudson is about to proceed to Lucknow to make his engraving of Sir Eyre Coote from an Original Picture by Dance, reckoned a remarkable likeness in the possession of Colonel Martin. Further particulars may be seen with the Engravings at the Exchange Room." Copies of these two prints which are very rare are to be found in the India Office.

Devis had just embarked from Calcutta on the ship *William Pitt*, Benjamin Browne, Commander, the passengers being Mrs. Cassan, Mrs. Campbell, Mr. Devis, Master John Garstin and Masters W. G. Devis' departure from India, and N. S. Cameron, (Neville Somerville Cameron, who entered the Madras Civil Service as a Writer in 1813 and died at the Cape of Good Hope, 12th December, 1833, aged 41). The vessel arrived at Madras on the 8th January, 1795. "The Fine Arts suffer an irreparable loss in the retirement of Mr. Devis who embarks for Europe on the *William Pitt*."

Dance's portrait of Coote has disappeared but in 1795 Robert Home finished for Madras a portrait of the General, which as Coote died in April 1783, must have been taken from the Lucknow picture. On 23rd May and 6th June, occur the following announcements: "We congratulate the Public on the Appearance of the beautiful Painting of Sir Eyre Coote in the Exchange Room, a production which has for sometime awakened much curiosity and is now destined to gratify that expectation which it has so generally excited. We

Captain William-son's "*East India Vade Mecum*" on oil extracted from the dead bodies of male factors.

Mr. Henry Hudson's Mezzotint Engravings of Devis' pictures.

Devis' departure from India.

Dance's and Home's portraits of Sir Eyre Coote.

have the pleasure also of announcing that the Engravings from views taken of the Mysore Country by Mr. Home, the author of the Painting mentioned above are just received." "A Card—Mr. Home takes this opportunity of informing the Public that he has completely finished the Picture of Sir Eyre Coote and that it is now hung up in the Exchange Room."

This is the picture which Mrs. Fay saw on 25th January, 1796. "I found the town much improved since my former visit (1780) and was particularly pleased with the Exchange which is a noble building, ornamented with whole length pictures of Lord Cornwallis, Sir Eyre Coote and General Medows." Home himself left Madras on the Anna, Captain Gilmore, on "Thursday last" (May 28th) for Calcutta, "where he will doubtless meet with that encouragement which his character as a man and genius as an artist so well deserve."

Mr. Hudson was at Calcutta and had sent down his Engravings for exhibition and sale in the newly opened Exchange Room, Madras. A corner of the Gazette No. 33 for August 15, 1795 records his death: "Lately at Chinsura Mr. Henry Hudson Mezzotint Engraver." His notice in the D. N. B. by Lionel Cust extends to only 18 lines and gives his floruit as 1784 to 1800, whereas he died in 1795. The visit to India is not mentioned. An old Bengal Directory gives the name of the ship in which he arrived: "Henry Hudson, artist, Kroon Princesse Maria, 1793."

An issue of the same Gazette for January 30, 1796 enables us to follow the movements of Mrs. Fay on her third voyage to India. "On Wednesday Evening arrived and anchored in the Roads, the American ship Minerva, Captain Robertson, from England. She left the Downs on the 19th of August Madeira the 19th September, Teneriffe the 6th October and St. Jago on the 16th of the same month. On her came passengers; Mrs. Eliza Fay, Miss A. M. Rivers, Miss C. Treplin, Mr. William Regail and Mr. Campbell. At Teneriffe the Minerva procured several English papers of recent date (17th September)" extracts from which are given.

Mrs. Fay's own letters to Mrs. L. say that on 2nd August, 1795, she quitted London for Southampton from whence the packets sail for Guernsey; next evening (6th) they safely reached the Minerva at Guernsey and stayed till 17th when Mr. A. Tupper, a gentleman in his 76th year showed them over the island. On September 7th they landed at Funchall, on 23rd obtained a sight of the Peak of Teneriffe and on 26th cast anchor in the road of Orotava and on 6th October took leave of their kind hosts Mr. and Mrs. Barry, the latter the most beautiful woman she had ever seen. "She was in England just before Sir Joshua Reynold's death, and he declared repeatedly that would his health permit him ever to take another picture it should be Mrs. Barry's". On 13th they were obliged to stop at St. Jago and anchored on the 13th in Porto Praya Bay. On 29th October they crossed the Line and arrived at Madras on 25th January, 1796. Her two lady companions were Miss Rogers and Miss Tripler, whose names are mis-spelt in the Gazette.

The other ship-mates, including Mrs. Fay's Bengal servant (who is not mentioned again) were Mr. Campbell, fresh from the Highlands of Scotland, on whom the officers were continually playing their jokes; Mr. Smith, a

Her fellow passengers.

interesting your man though suffering from deep depression. He had been brought up in Russia and had for his age (which could not be more than 24) seen much of the world and evidently mixed in the best society. "I apprehend some singular blight had happened in his fortunes." The Madras news-carrier gives his name as William but nothing further is known of him. Mr. Campbell's Christian name is not recorded, rendering identification difficult; for as has been said, season after season the batch of recruits for India was so largely made up of youths hailing from across the Tweed that as one disgusted Englishman remarked, a cry of 'I say Grant' outside the Secretariat would bring a dozen of redheads to the windows.

WILLIAM HICKEY in the fourth volume of his *Memoirs* (pp. 125-6) gives a brief account of the duel at Lucknow in 1795 between his friend

The Prendergast-Paull Duel at Lucknow in 1795.

Michael George Prendergast (who had left Dacca and settled at Lucknow where he carried on very extensive dealings as a merchant) and the celebrated James Paull, son of a tailor and afterwards M. P. for Newton, I.W. The annexed extract from the *Mirror* and copied in the *Madras Gazette*, No. 20, for May 16th 1795, supplies details of the duel and gives the names of the seconds. Sackville Marcus Taylor, assistant to the Resident at Lucknow attended Prendergast and himself died at Calcutta, 14th September, 1798. George Johnstone, Paull's supporter, is mentioned by Hickey as the person under whose auspices Paull acquired a handsome fortune' as merchant. The extract is headed "Duel: We have authority to publish the following statement of a duel, which lately took place between two gentlemen at Lucknow in consequence as we understand, of a very serious quarrel of long standing." According to Hickey Prendergast had insulted Paull in a large company and next morning Paull called him out, but the challenge was declined on the ground that Paull was the son of a tailor and not entitled to call for or expect satisfaction which was the peculiar right of gentlemen only. This refusal being discussed at Lucknow, the gentlemen of the station unanimously sided with Paull, who had been received on a footing of equality with the rest of society at Lucknow, including Prendergast himself: and on this opinion being communicated to him Prendergast accepted the challenge.

"Having been called upon to attend Mr. Prendergast and Mr. Paull in an unfortunate affair of Honour, the following to the best of our recollection is what passed upon the occasion.

The parties having met and the ground being marked out, Mr. Prendergast received Mr. Paull's fire, and addressed him as follows: "Mr. Paull, as I have suffered the opinion of general Society to over-rule my own, I think it just to act in conformity with the alteration which has taken place in

The Statement of the Seconds, S. M. Taylor and George Johnstone.

my plans, and finding myself in this situation, I am determined to give you as ample satisfaction as I would to any man and with that view, Sir, I have reserved my fire as an atonement for the satisfaction on a former occasion: and when we reflect on the scurrilous papers you put in circulation, as also on the expression you made use of at Mr. Orr's I think you ought to be satisfied; if not, fire another Shot, or fifty, if you chuse" Mr. Johnstone, upon this observed, it was better not to address Mr. Paull directly and to avoid misconception, to commit to writing what might pass.

The following was then put to paper.

"Mr. Prendergast has received Mr. Paull's fire as an atonement for what has passed. Mr. Johnstone observed to Mr. Taylor that from what he knew of Mr. Paull's sentiments he had little hope that he would be satisfied. The Paper was shown to Mr. Paull and the following written communications passed.

Mr. Paull. "Under all the circumstances of the case, I cannot consider the above as an atonement, or indeed as any satisfaction whatever. I desire Mr. Prendergast will take his fire."

Mr. Prendergast. "Consistent with my feelings I cannot draw a trigger, where I have lifted my hand and unless the business takes a new ground I cannot alter this resolution."

Mr. Paull. "As neither honour nor humanity can allow of my firing at Mr. Prendergast while he retains his fire, should he still persist in so doing, I will depart without any satisfaction, and pursue those modes of getting redress that are absolutely necessary for my honour. I again call on Mr. Prendergast to fire that I may obtain satisfaction such as I deem necessary."

"Mr. Prendergast repeats that he cannot fire upon any other than the foregoing terms."

Mr. Paull. "Does Mr. Prendergast mean 'by new ground' my insulting him anew. If he does, I will immediately declare my opinion of him, which I have been already compelled to do in writing."

Mr. Prendergast. You have only to declare that opinion."

Mr. Paull. "You are a Scoundrel."

Mr. Prendergast upon this fired—Mr. Paull returned the fire—Mr. Prendergast then fired again, and the Shot took place; upon which Mr. Prendergast immediately ran up to Mr. Paull, expressed the greatest concern for what had passed, and much anxiety lest the wound should prove serious.

We consider it due to both parties to certify that they behaved with the utmost coolness and courage, they preserved the utmost command of temper, and seemed actuated solely by a desire to preserve their consistency and honour.

(Signed) S. M. Taylor,

Geo. Johnstone.

(Mirror.)

REFERENCE was made in our last number to an advertisement of the Cabinet of Curtius at Calcutta in 1794. The Madras Gazette of the following August advertises its exhibition there with a catalogue of contents. Curtius was Madame Tussaud's uncle and the inscription on the musket presented to him by the National Assembly runs: "Given to Johann Christopher Curtius, born at Stoeche, in Germany, by the National Assembly of France, in recognition of his bravery as one of the conquerors of the Bastille." Although a German Swiss, during the Revolution from prudential motives he gave himself out to be an Alsatian. Madame Tussaud's father had married his sister Marie, widow of a Swiss Pastor named Walther; and when her father Gresholz died he adopted his niece and taught her to model in wax. The Catalogue of the Madras Exhibition is very curious and seems to show that what came to India was the display originally exhibited in the Palais Royal of illustrious personages, royal, political, literary and artistic, while the Museum of murderers and other criminals shown in the Boulevard du Temple, in a house formerly occupied by Foulon remained behind, the only "horror" shown in India being the decapitation of Foulon himself. It is singular that wax is nowhere mentioned, the figures being said to be made of a life-like composition resembling nature. One of them is described as the Count of North, Emperor of Russia, which must either be a misprint or possibly an alias for Peter the Great, that Colossus of the North who came to Europe. Under the Optic of Zaler, the Tempest at Vernet needs elucidation. Fort St. Philip is in Minorca and Upton Castle in Worcestershire. The emigration to India of these Revolutionary Wax Works is recorded nowhere else and seems almost as strange as the booklet published in 1790 dealing with the Reign of Terror in France and entitled "On the Follies and Extravagances of the Time written by an Indian at Paris."

"Cabinet of Curcius and Optic of Zaler.

DOMINICK Laurency, Italian, has the honour to present his most respectful compliments to the Ladies and Gentlemen of this Settlement and begs to inform them that he has brought with him from Europe the Cabinet of Curcius and the great Optic of Zaler, both of which Curiosities have attracted the admiration of the capital Cities of Europe and particularly that of London. The persons who have seen them in Europe can certify their exact likeness; they are composed of Kings and Princes who have been at Paris, and who were modelled by Curcius. There are also to be seen the unfortunate Louis XVI and his Family and several other Potentates, etc. The whole done with a composition that resembles nature so well that one would imagine they were alive.

The Optic Glass represents the rising of the Sun and the Capital Cities of Europe, in their Natural state and size. The illuminations in the Houses are represented so exactly that the Persons who have been in any of these places easily recognise the Houses and the Streets they may have inhabited.

Description of the Articles.

Cabinet of Curcius.

The late King of France, Louis XVI.
 His Son, the Dauphin.
 His Brothers,—the Count de Provence and the Count D'Artois.
 Countess de Provence and Countess d'Artois.
 The Duchess de Polignac.
 Joseph II, German Emperor.
 The Count of North, Emperor of Russia.
 Frederick, King of Prussia.
 Henry IV and his Minister Sully.
 The Marquis La Fayette, the French General.
 Count Mirabeau, Member of the First French National Assembly.
 The Abbe Maury, do.
 Pethion, Mayor of Paris.
 Voltaire and Rousseau, celebrated French Authors.

The whole exhibited by a composition that exactly resembles nature—they are clothed in the dress they were accustomed to wear, and are sat at Table.

The Model of the Bastille, below which is the beheading of Foulon, Minister of Finances. This resembles a Head, which has just been cut off, the blood seems to be streaming from it, and running on the ground.

Optic of Zaler.

THE Great City of London in two parts. The Lanthorns on the Bridge
 The Optic of are represented so well that they really appear to be
 Zaler. natural.

The Great Church of St. Paul, at London. The View is particularly remarked for the Brightness of the Moon upon the Walls, and has so natural an effect that it is impossible to see it, without admiring the genius of the Artist.

The City of Paris with its Environs and Beauties.

The City of Rennes, the Lights in the Houses also appear, and the Ladies and Gentlemen are seen in the Balconies.

Ancient and Modern Rome. In the first is seen the Palace of Julius Caesar; and the Great Hall of Inquisition.

The Great Hall of Architecture at Rome.

The Tempest at Vernet, and the loss of a large ship (at night): A Woman is here seen who having been saved from the shipwreck is placed near a Fire to be warmed.

The Rising of the Sun.

The Place of Navone, at Rome.

The City of Venice.

The Burning of the Fort of St. Phillip.

The Passage of the Alps.

The Illumination in the Park of Versailles on the celebration of the marriage of Louis XVI with all the Attributes of his Throne. Upton Castle, belonging to the King of England.

Saint Peter's at Rome.

Amsterdam.

The famous Hospital of Greenwich.

The City of Naples.

The Cabinet will be exhibited on Choultry Plain, in that large commodious and airy House and Garden of his Highness the Nabob, commonly called and known by the name of Mackay's Garden, and will be opened on Tuesday next, the 18th instant, at seven in the evening—and may be seen three days in the week Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at seven o'clock in the evening. If any Ladies or Gentlemen would wish to see it in private or any other days of the week, they will be pleased to signify their pleasure the preceding Evening.

The Tickets for Admission are Two Star Pagodas, and may be had at the Shop of Mr. Armstrong, near the North Gate, Fort St. George; and those who would wish to see it in Private, or on any other Days of the Week, the Price of Tickets will be Three Pagodas.

N.B.—No money will be taken at the Door.

The First Exhibition will take place on Tuesday, the 18th Instant and not on Thursday, the 13th, as inserted by mistake in the Courier."

IN the Nesbitt-Thompson Papers is an interesting reference to the Colonel Mordaunt of Zoffany's Cock Match. Writing to Hastings from Penton Lodge, Hampshire, on Tuesday, June 20, 1809, Thompson says: "My mind seems to be wearing out even faster than my body. In one respect I every

day become more and more like that active idle fellow Jack Mordaunt. "That active idle fellow Jack Mordaunt who you recollect would rather travel from Lucknow to Calcutta in the middle of the hottest weather to ask you a question, than write a letter of a few lines for the purpose."

WILLIAM CORY JOHNSON (the well-known Eton Master) in his Letters and Journals tells a good story about Sir James Outram (August 7, 1864): "Talking of Outram Captain E. said he was brave even to foolhardiness. He was standing with several men looking from a terrace into a tank full of allegators: some one said, 'I wonder whether any one would plunge in among those brutes?' Outram did so at once; made such a splash that he frightened them all off. E. told me that in some parts of India tigers had become so numerous since the Disarming Act, that they were obliged to give back the arms to the people." No wonder the old Bombay Service saying ran: "A fox is a fool and a lion a coward compared with James Outram."

THE Nasik diamond has once more emerged into publicity. According to the *New York Times* it has been sold to a jeweller of that city by the Duke of Westminster. The price has not been disclosed. On July 20, 1837, Messrs. J. G. and A. Sharp sold it by auction at Willis' Rooms in St. James's "by order of the Trustees appointed by His Majesty for the Collection and Distribution of the Deccan Booty." It then weighed $357\frac{1}{2}$ grains and was described as "of the purest water," and as having been "captured by the combined armies under the command of the late Most Noble General the Marquis of Hastings, G. C. B." in the final campaign against the Mahrattas which ended in the surrender of the Peshwa, Baji Rao the Second, to Sir John Malcolm on June 3, 1818. In its present shape the diamond which is yellow in colour is a triangular stone of 89 carats and has been valued at £35,000. It is not the largest known Indian stone. The Pitt Diamond, which became one of the French Crown Jewels and is still in France, weighs 136 carats; and His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad owns another which weighs 277 carats, and is called by his name.

THE following announcement is made in the Calcutta Gazette of November 26, 1801: "Sir Henry Russell presents his compliments to the Old Carthusians Gentlemen educated at the Charter-House School, and in Calcutta. requests the honour of their company at Dinner at Mr. Hickey's House in Calcutta on the 12th of December next, at six o'clock, to celebrate the Anniversary of the Founder's Day. Such Gentlemen as intend to favour Sir Henry Russell with their company are requested to send their Names to him." In the issue for December 3, the announcement is repeated with the substitution of "his House in Chowringhee" for "Mr. Hickey's House in Calcutta" and the addition of a Note: "Not at Mr. Hickey's as inserted by mistake in the last Gazette." Mr. Hickey, as we know, was an old Westminster and entertained his school fellows on his own account.

THERE is a statement at page 12 of Mr. A. K. Ray's *Short History of Calcutta* (Census of India 1901) which one would like to see verified. Algodam, a site in Clive Street. Algodon is the Spanish and Algodao the Portuguese for cotton, but is there any site in Clive Street, which still goes by the name of Algodam? "There is little doubt that it was through the Setts and Bysacks (who were well-to-do traders at Satgaon) that Govindapur and Chuttanutte got a large colony of weavers and a flourishing trade in cotton bales in later years, which became an attraction for the English Merchant Company. It was through them that the residents of Calcutta first got a glimpse of the Portuguese trading at Betor (the modern Bantra near the Sibpur Botanical Gardens) from where they came to Calcutta and established a cotton factory (algodam), the site of which in Clive Street still goes by the old name of Algodam."

SIR EVAN COTTON writes: In his interesting article on the wax medallion portrait of Warren Hastings which is printed on the first two pages of the last number of *Bengal Past and Present*, Mr. Ramsbotham seems to suggest that some doubt exists as to the author. There is, in any event, no mention of "Peter Round" as he states in the letter of Hastings to Bissumber Pundit which is appended to the article. The mistake, which is evidently due to an error in transcription, occurs in the letter from Rai Baijnath Das Shapuri of Benares to the Editor, which will be found on page 158 of the number for October-December 1926. But there can be no question as to the identity of the artist. Peter Rouw (1771-1852) was a well-known modeller in wax, perhaps the most famous after Isaac Gossett (1713-1799). There are many of his works in the Victoria and Albert Museum. He had a studio in Portland Road and exhibited no less than 146 specimens of his art at the Royal Academy from 1787 to 1840. Among them was a wax medallion of "W. Hastings Esq." in the miniature section in 1806. This is most certainly the original medallion which was bequeathed to the Victoria Memorial Hall by Miss Winter and it is equally clear that Rai Baijnath Das Shapuri owns one of the replicas which Hastings sent to his ancestor Bissumber Pundit on July 28, 1805.

J. J. COTTON.

NOTE.

These pages should be substituted for the corresponding pages (63 to 66) in the last number (January-March, 1927, Serial No. 65).

For a reason which will appear, we cannot omit mention of the chapter on "Tait's," the Anglo-Indian Boarding-School at Bromley-by-Bow, which Lord Metcalfe attended as a boy. Sir William Foster has examined the educational certificates which were required as annexures to "writers' petitions" and has made an interesting discovery. Thomas Tait is revealed as vouching for the attainments of Richard Chichele Plowden in 1798, of Isaac Henry Townley Roberdeau in 1799 and of Trevor John Chichele Plowden the first in 1801. Roberdeau, it will be remembered, was the author of the sketch of life in Bengal in 1805 which was published in Vol. XXIX of this journal: and had a brother Thomas, who followed him as a writer in 1804. They were the sons of Mr. Roberdeau of Bath, and nephews of Alderman Paul Le Mesurier, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1794, and a Director of the Company from 1784 to 1802 and again in 1805. In his *Life of Metcalfe*, Sir John Kaye gives an account of the school: and alludes to Metcalfe's recollection of "old ceilings of carved wood" in the house. This allusion is connected by Sir William Foster with the "Bromley Room" at the South Kensington Museum, which was removed there from the "Old Palace" at Bromley, and which possesses a fine overmantel and an elaborate plaster ceiling bearing the arms of James I.

The final chapter on the India Board is concerned chiefly with its domestic history. Pitt the younger, who created this body in 1784, formed it of six Privy Councillors, who drew no salaries and held office during the King's pleasure. They were not necessarily chosen on account of their knowledge of India: but their first Chief Secretary was Charles William Boughton Rous, who served in Bengal from 1765 to 1779, and entered the House of Commons in 1780 as member for Evesham. The duty of presiding fell as a rule upon Henry Dundas, the treasurer of the Navy: until in 1794 he was formally appointed to the office of salaried chairman which he held until 1801, and provided with two paid commissioners. In 1833 the chairman was deprived of his colleagues who were replaced by a number of Ministers as *ex-officio* members. This arrangement continued until 1858.

We have dealt with barely half of Sir William Foster's subjects: and we do not pretend to have selected the best. The reader must buy the book, and decide for himself.

The Nabobs in England: a Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785: by

*James M. Holzman, Phd. (New York: published by the Author:
Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Co.: Rs. 12 net.)*

In a leading article published in the *Statesman* of October 27, 1925, reference was made to a letter printed in the *Dundee Advertiser* in which the writer declared that he was "tired of the whole brood of Anglo-Indians who settle down in Dundee to flaunt their ill-gotten gold." There are few Anglo-Indians, we fancy, in these days who have any gold to "flaunt:" but it is odd to observe how this prejudice against the "Nabob" persists. We can almost hear John Homespun commenting on the Mushrooms or Foote

satirizing Sir Matthew Mite for their eternal talk about Rajahs and rupees, pilaos and palanquins, and their immense fortunes obtained by plunder and extortion.

Dr. Holzman has commenced his anthology of Nabobs in England with the year 1760, because it was during the period immediately following the battle of Plassey that the term passed into general use as an appellation of the Anglo-Indian who, set out to make a fortune or to die of a fever, was fortunate enough to achieve the first and escape the second. He has crammed his book with information, which is all the more valuable because much of it is difficult of ordinary access. The Nabobs are presented under every aspect: in society, in politics, in their luxurious town and country-houses. There is one chapter on "Nabob origins and connections," in which short work is made of the mythically low pedigrees fastened upon men such as Rumbold, and Francis Sykes by their detractors. In another chapter the influence exerted by the Nabobs upon their contemporaries is examined: and finally there are appendices of a biographical and topographical character, including a comprehensive "Nabob's Who's Who;" and a list of the country-houses of some of them.

The frontispiece is provided by a portrait of General Richard Smith, taken from the *Town and Country Magazine*, and chosen because Smith may fairly be regarded as typical of his class. There are good grounds for supposing him (and not Clive) to be the original of Sir Matthew Mite in Foote's *Nabob*. On his return from India in 1769, after commanding the Bengal Army, he purchased Chiltern Lodge near Hungerford in Berkshire. He owned race-horses, was a member of the Jockey Club, and displayed his scarlet colours in the Oaks of 1780 and the Derby of 1781. As a gambler he was at one time the talk of the town. It was said that he lost £180,000 to Charles James Fox, and the story went that once he went to sleep in a club in St. James's Street and told the waiter not to wake him unless some one who would play for 3,000 guineas came in. His first Parliamentary venture ended in disaster. He was elected for Hindon, a pocket borough in Wiltshire, in 1774 and was not only unseated for corruption but fined £666 and sentenced to six months in jail. In 1780 he was returned as member for Wendover in Bucks and Hickey mentions him as Chairman of a Committee which dealt very roughly with Richard Barwell. According to the *Public Advertiser* of September 7, 1784, he was obliged to take refuge on the continent to escape his creditors: and according to a pamphlet on the Jockey Club published in 1792, "sank into his original insignificance." On the other hand, a certain General Richard Smith of Harley Street, which was his London address, was elected to Parliament for Wareham, Dorset, in 1790, and spoke frequently until May 9, 1796. His end, in fact, was as uncertain as his origin, although Hickey maintains that he was the son of a cheesemonger.

The desire to become a country gentleman was deep seated in every Nabob. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 30, 1791, an estate on the borders of Middlesex and Hertfordshire is advertised as the first prize in a lottery:

the second prize was a smaller estate and the third a house in Islington. Robert Palk at Haldon House, in Devonshire, Sir Robert Barker at Busbridge near Godalming (an estate now owned by Sir Archy Birkmyre), Sir Francis Sykes at Basildon in Berkshire, Richard Barwell at Stanstead, near Chichester, all these examples of magnificence were symptomatic of the rest.

Next to a country-house the Nabob coveted a seat in the House of Commons: and in those days this too could be bought. Dr. Holzman gives many instances. Warren Hastings paid £4,000 in 1784 for a seat at West Looe in Cornwall for his agent Major Scott Waring: and the owner John Buller who received the money was in the Company's service in Bengal. Clive was member for Shrewsbury in the Parliament of 1761-1768: his father sat for Montgomery, his cousin George Clive for Bishop's Castle in Shropshire, and his wife's cousin John Walsh for Worcester City: all were Clive's boroughs. At a later date (1780) the notorious Paul Benfield was alleged to have brought in nine members besides himself. Colonel Mark Wood who has given his name to Wood Street in Calcutta, owned the borough of Gatton (described by Cobbett as "a very rascally spot of the earth") and returned himself and his son. Hindon and Cricklade in Wiltshire, New Shoreham in Sussex, and Shaftesbury in Dorset, were other happy hunting-grounds of the Nabobs.

Enormous fortunes were brought home from India in some cases. Alexander Mackrabie notes in his diary that George Vansittart was supposed to have "gone passenger to England with 150 Thousand pounds in his Pocket." Rumbold was declared by James Augustus Hicky of the *Bengal Gazette*, to have amassed "little more than £600,000." Barwell's fortune was computed at £400,000. Major George Marsac of whom we confess that we have not previously heard, but who was reputed to be a son of George the Second, served for fourteen years, from 1765 to 1779, in the Bengal Army. He bought Caversham Park in Oxfordshire from Lord Cadogan, and spent thousands of pounds on the estate. When he died in 1837, his real estate was proved at £107,000 and his personalty at £76,000.

The inevitable result was that the Nabob was unpopular. He was disliked much as a later generation dislikes the war profiteer. No one quite knew how he had made his money: and nothing was too outrageous to be believed. A lament may be found in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 11, 1784, which indicates how universal the hostility was. "Many private letters mention the great disrespect in which East Indians are held in England, so much so that they are driven to associate almost entirely with each other." Yet Captain Joseph Price was probably right when he maintained that the many were forced to suffer for the sins of the few. Exemplary Nabobs were John Cartier of Bedgebury in Kent, Governor of Fort William from 1770 to 1772, and General John Caillaud of Aston Rowant in Oxfordshire (the seat in later days of Lord Lake and Sir William Plowden). When Caillaud died in 1812, the *Gentleman's Magazine* described him as "a sincere friend and pious Christian, whose loss will be

severely felt by the poor in that neighbourhood for his benevolence." Sir John Call, Coote's Chief Engineer in Madras, was a banker, a manufacturer of plateglass, a copper smelter, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Clive's paymaster, John Walsh, twice gained the Copley Medal of the Royal Society (in 1774 and in 1783) for his pioneer experiments on the torpedo fish. William Frankland, who fled to the ships at the capture of Calcutta in 1756, filled his house at Muntham in Sussex with all kinds of novel and elaborate machinery: and is said to have spent at least £20,000 upon his favourite researches. The subject, it will be seen, is full of fascination: and Dr. Holzman has handled it with admirable skill and judgment. A glance at his bibliography, and an examination of the index, will give some idea of the labour and research which has been necessary.

The Nabobs of Madras: by Henry Dowell. (London: Williams and Norgate: Ten Shillings and Six Pence net.)

Mr. Dodwell's brightly written book aptly supplements Dr. Holzman's volume. The one presents the Nabob as a finished article: the other enables us to study the process of evolution. Although the scene is laid in Madras—for that is the Presidency with which Mr. Dodwell is best acquainted—the story might just as well be told of Calcutta in the last half of the eighteenth century. The merest glance at the titles of the chapters will make that clear. We embark on board the Indiaman and, once arrived on the Coromandel coast, are introduced in turn to the Company's servant, the Company's officer, the soldier, the chaplain, the surgeon, the merchant, the lawyer, and the ladies: we are given a glimpse of their houses and households, and learn something of their standards of taste and their amusements: and, finally, we are sent home again. Mr. Dodwell has drawn most of his material from the records of the old Mayor's Court at Fort Saint George: and has pieced it together with a lightness of touch which makes reading a pleasure. If we may offer a comment, it is that he is inclined to assume that others are as proficient in the subject as he is. To take one example. On page 198 (in his chapter on the ladies) he speaks of "a young miniature painter" who "after a couple of years catches a gentleman high in the service with a large fortune." The reference is to Miss Martha Isaacs, who painted miniatures of Mrs. Richard Barwell and William Hickey in Calcutta, and, after being baptized at St. John's Church, married Alexander Higginson, member of the Board of Trade, on July 5, 1779. But how many can be expected to supply these details? Elsewhere (p. 21) Mr. Dodwell quotes Horace Walpole's malicious description of the grandmother of Lady Vere of Hanworth (whose husband was the grandson of Charles the Second and Nell Gwynn) as a "most deplorable sooty gentlewoman:" but he does not tell us who the lady was. She was, in fact, the Portuguese, or Indo-Portuguese, wife of Sir Thomas Chamber, who began his career in India as a purser's mate and ended it as Agent at Fort Saint George. But why should we have to go to Sir William Foster's "John Company" for this gloss?

